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PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS.

Vol. XIV.

FOURTEENTH MEETING HELD AT LAHORE.

December 1937.



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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. Members present at the fourteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission	Frontispiece.
2. The Historical Exhibition	..	..	..	..	Facing page 287.

CONTENTS.

	PAGES.
Proceeding of the Public Meeting	1
Members of the Commission and others present	1—5
Speech of His Excellency Sir Herbert William Emerson, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., Governor of the Punjab	5—7
Speech of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., Hon. D.Litt., M. R. A. S. (London) ..	7—10
• Paper by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., Hon. D.Litt., M. R. A. S. (London)— Mission of James Browne to the Delhi Court, 1783-1785	12—19
Paper by Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghbir Singh, D.Litt., LLB.— Manuscript Letter-Book of Sir Charles Warre Malet, 1780-1784	19—27
Paper by Mr. L. P. Dutt, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A. (London), Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal— Administration of Justice in Bengal in the last decades of the 18th century ..	27—32
Paper by Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., F.S.S., F.R.E.S., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur— The English Monopoly in Indian Spices	32—39
Paper by Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor, Department of History and Archaeology, University of Madras— Two Negapatam grants from the Batavia Museum	39—50
Paper by Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, M.A., Assistant to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab— Memorandum on the Nature and Scope of the Persian Records of the Punjab Government, 1803-1890	51—56
Paper by Mons. A. Balasubramaniam Pillai, Late Curator, French Government Archives, Pondicherry— The Wills of Francois Martin and Madam Mary De Cuperly his wife	56—62
Paper by Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur— A letter of Maharaja Abhai Singh of Merwar	63—65
Paper by Dr. K. R. Qanungo, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History, The University of Dacca, Bengal— Some Side-lights on the History of Benares, Political and Social, thrown by the Selections from the Peshwa's Daftari, Poona	65—68
Paper by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Indian History, The University of Lucknow— Verelst's Observations on Shuja-ud-Daulah's Character	68—71
Paper by Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Professor, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur— An account of the Early Indigo Planters in Bhagalpur	71—75
Paper by Dr. Kalikinkar Dutta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Patna College, Patna— Some unpublished Documents relating to the Conspiracy of Wazir Ali	75—87

	PAGES.
Paper by Mr. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A. Professor, D. A. V. College, Lahore—	
Some official Records of Mughal India .. .. ..	.. 87—91
Paper by Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr—	
Discursive Notes on Balasore .. .. ..	.. 91—104
Paper by Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B.—	
Historical Families of Berar during the Mughal Period .. .. ..	.. 104—107
Paper by Mr. V. G. Dighe, M.A.—	
Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I and the Marathas, 1721-1728 .. .. ..	.. 107—113
Paper by Mr. N. B. Ray, M.A., Professor, Mymensingh College, Bengal—	
Lord Cornwallis's Diplomacy .. .. .. ..	.. 113—121
Paper by Mr. S. V. Venkateswara, M.A., Professor, Department of Indian History, Presidency College, Madras—	
The Grandhavari of the Zamorins .. .. .. ..	.. 121—123
Paper by Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, D.Litt. (Paris), Professor, Osmania University—	
Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah's petition to the Court of Directors of the East India Company .. .. .. ..	.. 124—126
Paper by Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (London), F.R.Hist.S., F.I.P.A., Asstt. Professor of History, Maharaja's College, Mysore—	
More Light on Sir Thomas Munro .. .. .. ..	.. 127—137
Paper by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India and <i>ex-officio</i> Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission—	
Prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah .. .. .. ..	.. 138—145
Proceedings of the Members' Meeting	.. 146—174
APPENDIX A.—	
<i>Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, etc., on the Resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commissioin passed at their thirteenth meeting</i>	<i>.. 175—182</i>
APPENDIX B.—	
<i>Papers discussed at the Members' Meeting—</i>	
I. 'Some problems concerning the scope and expansion of the Punjab Record Office' by Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph. D., Bar.-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab .. .. .. ..	.. 184—189
II. 'A few observations on the Record Rooms of India' by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon), Ashutosh Professor of Indian History, University of Calcutta .. .. .. ..	.. 189—191
III. 'Facilities for the study of the Historical Records in India' by the Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay .. .. .. ..	.. 191—195
IV. 'A note on the correlation of Indian Historical Records' by J. F. Bruce, M.A., Professor of History, University of the Punjab .. .. .. ..	.. 195—197
APPENDIX C.—	
<i>Progress Report of the Classification of the Company Records in the Imperial Record Department upto the 30th November 1937</i>	<i>.. 198</i>

APPENDIX D.—

	PAGES.
I. Summaries of the Reports of the research work done by corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission	199—208
II. Report on the Study of the Mackenzie Manuscripts of the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library	208—211

APPENDIX E.—

Manuscripts relating to the Origin, Progress and Present State of the Pindaris by Lt. Col. James Tod with an introduction by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali	212—242
---	---------

APPENDIX F.—

List of Books containing inscriptions on tombs and monuments in Christian graveyards in India and Burma	243—247
---	---------

APPENDIX G.—

Revised list of commemorative tablets on notable buildings in India	248—258
--	---------

APPENDIX H.—

Price list of Old Records in the Punjab Civil Secretariat	259—261
--	---------

APPENDIX I.—

List of Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission	262—265
--	---------

APPENDIX J.—

Rules regulating the access of the public to—	
---	--

(I) the records in the Alienation Office, Poona, and	266—267
(II) the Historical Museum, Satara	267—268

APPENDIX K.—

Rules regulating the access of the public to the different classes of records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department	269—273
--	---------

APPENDIX L.—

Rules governing the access by private persons and Government Departments and Offices to mixed records relating to Indian States and British India which cannot be split up, in the custody of the Provincial Governments	274—283
---	---------

APPENDIX M.—

List of Historical Manuscripts, Coins, Paintings, etc., exhibited at Lahore in connection with the fourteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission	984—326
--	---------

LIST OF EXHIBITORS

GOVERNMENT ARCHIVES.

					PAGES.
1. Imperial Record Department ..	..	..	..	..	287
2. Government of Bengal ..	..	..	..	..	291
3. Punjab Record Office ..	..	..	..	..	292

INDIAN STATES.

1. H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad ..	..	..	..	..	296
2. Gwalior State ..	..	..	..	..	997
3. Kapurthala State ..	..	..	..	..	298
4. Jodhpur State ..	..	..	..	..	298
5. Kolhapur State ..	..	..	..	..	300
6. Mayurbhanj State ..	..	..	..	..	301

LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS.

1. Imperial Library, Calcutta ..	..	..	..	..	..	303
2. The Calcutta Madrasah ..	..	..	..	..	..	303
3. Dacca University ..	..	..	..	..	..	303
4. Punjab University Library ..	..	..	..	..	..	303
5. Mayo School of Arts, Lahore ..	..	..	..	..	..	304
6. Khalsa College, Amritsar (Sikh History Research Department) ..	..	..	..	..	..	304
7. " Sharadashram ", Yeotmal ..	..	..	..	..	..	307
8. Patna Museum ..	..	..	..	..	..	312
9. Sri Mannu Lall Library, Gaya, Bihar ..	..	..	..	..	..	313
10. The Museum Darul Falah, Delhi ..	..	..	..	..	..	313
11. The Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi ..	..	..	..	..	..	315

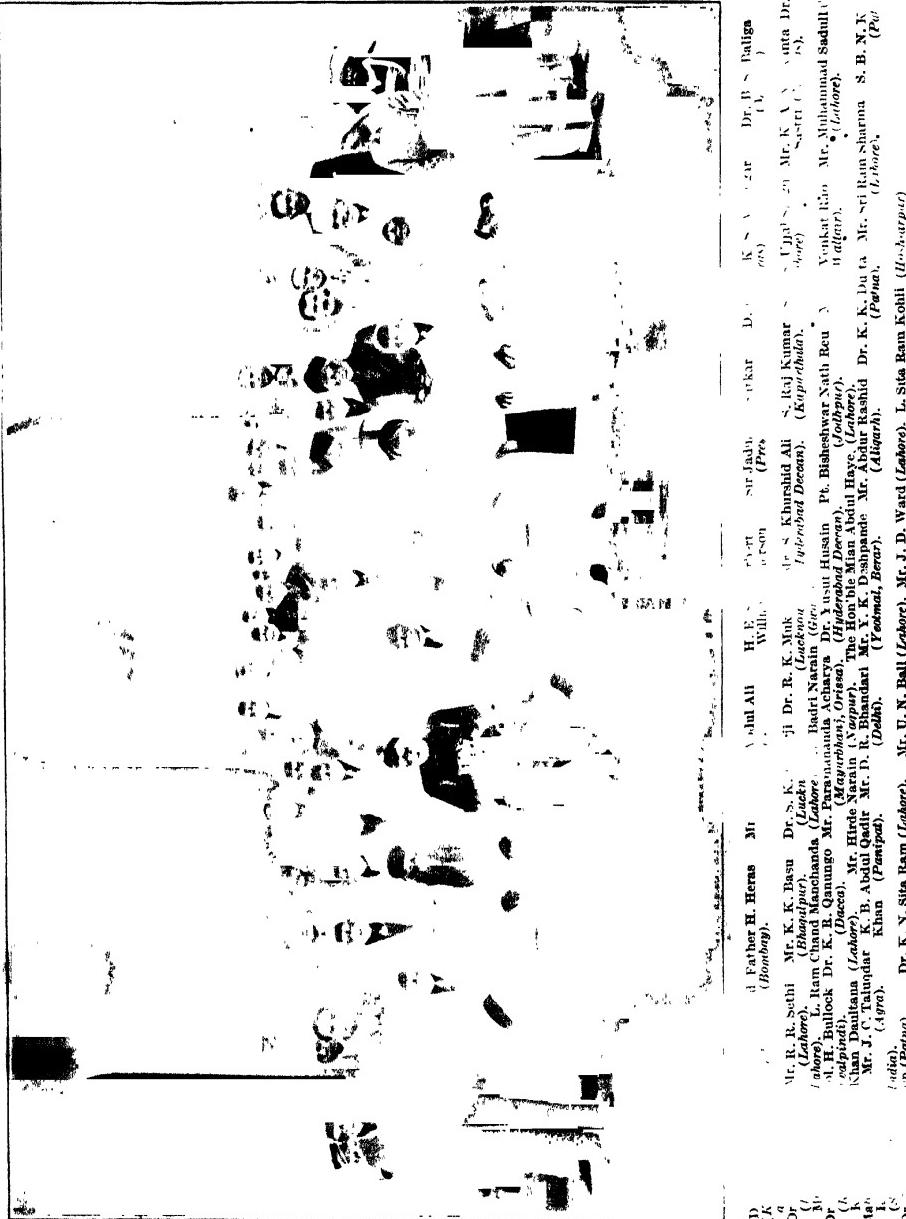
PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS AND FIRMS.

1. Rev. Father H. Heras St. Xavier's College, Bombay ..	..	..	..	..	..	315
2. Lt.-Col. H. Bullock, Rawalpindi ..	..	..	..	..	..	315
3. Sardar Sahib Ch. Labh Singh of Kahuta (Rawalpindi) ..	..	..	..	..	..	316
4. Dr. Hifzur Rahman, Lahore ..	..	..	..	..	..	316
5. Mr. Hadi Hussain, Lahore ..	..	..	..	..	..	317
6. S. Amolak Singh, Lahore ..	..	..	..	..	..	317
7. Principal Mohammad Shafi, Lahore ..	..	..	..	..	..	317
8. Khan Bahadur A. R. Chughtai, Lahore ..	..	..	..	..	..	317
9. Sada Jawani Pharmacy, Lahore ..	..	..	..	..	..	317
10. Mr. Ganda Singh, Khalsa College, Amritsar ..	..	..	..	..	..	318
11. S. Maharaj Chand, Amritsar ..	..	..	..	..	..	321

	PAGES.
12. Rai Bahadur S. Jawala Sahai Misra, Amritsar	321
13. Mr. Bashir Ahmad Khan Bukhtyar, Amritsar	321
14. L. Gokal Chand, Amritsar	321
15. Meer Fazal-us-Samad, Amritsar	321
16. Dr. A. M. Daula, M.A., Ph. D., Ludhiana	321
17. Raja Bashir Ahmad Khan, Gujrat	322
18. Pirji Abdul Rashid Sahib, Panipat	322
19. Pirji Baqaullah Sahib, Panipat	322
20. Sayid Abul Qasim Sahib, Panipat	322
21. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Monghyr	322
22. Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sahib, Delhi	323
23. Pirji Abdul Razzaq Sahib, Dujana House, Delhi	323
24. Mr. Muhammad Munavvar-ud-Din, Kuche Chelan, Delhi	324
25. Munshi Ganesh Lal Khara, Delhi	324
26. Mr. H. R. Mohsin, New Delhi	326
27. Mr. Ikramullah Khan, Lathwali Haveli, Delhi	326

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.

Fourteenth Session, Lahore, the 13th December 1937.



Proceedings of the Fourteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore on the 13th, 14th and 15th December 1937.

The fourteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at Lahore on the 13th, 14th and 15th December 1937 after a lapse of seven years due to financial stringency. The public meeting of the Commission was held on the opening day at the Punjab University Hall, and the proceedings were opened by His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab at 10-30 a.m. in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. In the unavoidable absence of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, and *ex-officio* President of the Commission, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., Hon. M.R.A.S., D.Litt., was voted to the Chair. Representatives of the Governments of Bombay and the Punjab as well as of several Indian States and Universities attended the session.

The following members were present :—

1. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., D.Litt., *ex-Chancellor*, University of Calcutta.
2. Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A. (Hon.), Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S., Madras.
3. Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., St. Xavier's College, Bombay. (Also represented the Government and the University of Bombay.)
4. Mr. L. P. Dutt, M.R.A.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal.
5. Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D., Curator, Madras Record Office, Egmore, Madras.
6. Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab. (Also represented the Government of the Punjab.)
7. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (Secretary).

The following co-opted members, including the representative of Provincial Governments, Indian States and Universities, were present :—

1. The Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye, Minister of Education.
2. The Hon'ble Justice Bakshi Tek Chand, Judge, High Court, and a Syndic of the Punjab University.
3. Mr. J. D. Penny, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.
4. Rai Bahadur Man Mohan, M.A., Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.
5. Mr. J. D. Ward, M.A., Senior Professor of History, Government College, Lahore.
6. Khan Bahadur Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana, M.L.A., Lahore.
7. Lala Ram Chand Manchanda, Advocate, High Court, Lahore.
8. Sardar Sahib Sardar Ujjal Singh, M.L.A., Lahore.
9. Dr. Khalifa Shujauddin, M.A., LL.D., Advocate, High Court, and a Syndic of the Punjab University.
10. Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri, M.A., Bar-at-Law, M.L.A., Advocate, High Court, Lahore.
11. Dr. K. N. Sitaram, M.A., Ph.D., Curator, Central Museum, Lahore.
12. Mr. R. R. Sethi, M.A., Lecturer in History, Punjab University.
13. Mr. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A., Professor of History, D. A. V. College, Lahore.
14. Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, M.A., Assistant to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.

Representatives of
the Government of
the Punjab.

15. Mr. Syed Khursheed Ali, M.A., Nazim,
Daftari-Dewani and Mal, H. E. H.
the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad
(Deccan).
16. Mr. Badri Narayan, M.A., Professor of
History, Gwalior.
17. Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Sahitya-
charya, Superintendent, Archaeological
Department, Jodhpur.
18. Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal,
Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
19. Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc.,
M.R.A.S., Mayurbhanj State, Orissa.
20. Sardar B. N. Khosla, M.A. (Pb.), B.A.
(Cantab), Bar-at-Law, Principal,
Mohindra College, Patiala.
21. Sardar Rajkumar, Director of Education,
Kapurthala State.
22. Dr. K. R. Qanungo, M.A., Ph.D., Head
of the Department of History, Dacca
University.
23. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.,
Professor of Indian History and
Archaeology, University of Madras.
24. Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M.A.,
Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., Assistant Professor,
Maharaja's College, Mysore.
25. Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, D.Litt. (Paris),
Osmania University.
26. Mr. Gurty Venket Rao, M.A., LL.B.,
Andhra University.
27. Mr. J. F. Bruce, M.A., Professor of
History, Punjab University.

} Representatives of
Indian States.

} Representatives of
Universities.

28. Mr. Hirde Narain, M.A., B.T., Professor of History, Morris College, Nagpur.

29. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, University of Lucknow.

30. Mr. D. R. Bhandari, Head of the Department of History, University of Delhi.

31. Mr. Sheikh Abdur Rashid, Muslim University, Aligarh.

32. Mr. J. C. Taluqdar, M.A., Professor of History, St. John's College, Agra.

33. Dr. S. K. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D., University of Lucknow.

34. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., University of Lucknow.

35. Mr. U. N. Ball, M.A., Senior Professor of History, D. A. V. College, and Lecturer, Punjab University.

36. Lt.-Col. H. Bullock, Dy. Judge Advocate General, Rawalpindi.

37. Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Principal, Government Intermediate College, Hoshiarpur.

38. Khan Bahadur Abdul Qadir Khan, M.A. (retired District Magistrate), Panipat.

39. Dr. Mohammad Nazim, M.A., Ph.D., Offg. Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, Patna.

40. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr.

41. Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Professor of History, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.

42. Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Patna College, Patna.

43. Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghbir Singh, D.Litt., LL.B., Sitamau, C. I.

44. Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., Yeotmal, Berar.

Representatives of Universities.

Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., M.L.C., Professor of Modern Indian History, University of Allahabad, and a member of the Commission, was unavoidably absent.

His Excellency the Governor was received at the entrance of the University Hall by the ordinary and locally co-opted members of the Commission headed by Sir Jadunath Sarkar and the Secretary. The other co-opted members were then introduced to His Excellency by the Secretary. After His Excellency had been photographed with the members of the Commission, he was conducted to the dais in a procession. His Excellency then delivered the following address :—

Speech of His Excellency Sir Herbert Emerson.

It is a great pleasure to me to welcome to Lahore the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission, and the more so as this meeting is a renewal of the yearly conferences, the sequence of which was rudely broken by the axe of retrenchment. As a result of the blow which fell in 1931, you have on this occasion to review the progress which has been made during the last six years, and I have no doubt that you will find much on which to offer expert advice.

Dr. Chopra will tell you later of the progress that has been made during recent years in the preservation and listing of the Punjab records, and I should be speaking out of turn if I attempted to anticipate what he is going to say.

During our own financial crisis I believe that the pruning-knife of economy was used with comparative restraint. Dr. Chopra would, no doubt, account for this forbearance by the fact that there was little room for economy in what he regards as an inadequate staff, and that, at the best, the Punjab Government can only claim a virtue out of a necessity.

However that may be, it is some consolation that the work has progressed without interruption since the Commission last held its session in Lahore in 1925. Indeed it has expanded in several directions. Apart from the protection and listing of records, which must always be the main function of a record department, the value of our collection has been enhanced by additions to the museum, by photographic records of private documents relating to times long before the beginning of British rule in this part of India, and by the publication of several monographs of much historical interest.

In particular, it is gratifying to know that increasing resort is made to our records by research students, who have been encouraged by the more judicious selection of subjects for historical theses. They will find a wealth of material hidden in the files preserved in the tomb of Anarkali and they might well seek inspiration in the cry of despair inscribed upon it. "Ah ! could I behold the face of my beloved once more", wrote the Emperor Jehangir, "I would give thanks unto my God until the day of resurrection".

The student of history attempts to do what the great Emperor in his sorrow regarded as a vain conceit. It is his purpose to bring the past to life and to present to the living the faces of bygone generations.

There is no better way of doing this than by the study of contemporary records, and it is an important part of the functions of your Commission to see that, so far as possible, such records are made available.

One is tempted to imagine that at this late stage there can be little room for the discovery of new documentary evidence. But even in the Punjab, where our official records go back only to the beginning of the last century, there is a mass of papers which await arrangement and examination. I refer, in particular, to the Persian records which cover the period from 1803 to 1890, and of which Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, Assistant to the Keeper of the Records, is to give you some account. They are voluminous, for it appears that a hundred years ago the passion for preparing files was almost as strong as it is under the present system of administration. It is possible that the Persian records may prove more valuable in some ways than the English ones, for Persian, during the greater part of the period I have mentioned, was the official language not only of the countries bordering on north-west India, but also of the many Indian States with which the British Government had relations. One would therefore expect the correspondents of those days to express their feelings, their views and their appreciation of current events more freely in a language in familiar use than in a tongue which was alien to them.

Freedom of expression is, I know, not always a sure guide to historical accuracy, and it may well happen that so far as the description of particular events is concerned, allowance will have to be made for the imagination and fluency of the writers. But the bounds of historical research are no longer confined to the narration of outstanding events of history ; they embrace the development of institutions, the administrative systems of Government, the nature and functions of particular departments, and to me, of still greater interest, the social and economic conditions of the people.

In the intimate correspondence, which is contained in the Persian records, it is certain that there is much which will throw light on many of these subjects. Mr. Sadullah, for instance, will tell you that these papers abound in letters sent by news-writers at the capitals of foreign States, at the Durbars of Indian Princes and resident in the large cities and towns of India.

These news-writers were the early representatives of the modern intelligence agents, and, while I have no doubt that the information they sent was, as now, based to some extent on surmise and deduction, and often coloured by the personality or interests of the writers themselves, their views on current politics and their comments on social and economic conditions cannot fail to be of historical value.

In this connection, I would like to see more research in the economic field of history ; for, while comparisons are constantly made between the present

and the past, to the detriment of the former, they are rarely based on the expert examination of evidence. In the economic field it is important that we should not be misled by rose-coloured accounts of a golden age, which a cold scrutiny of facts cannot support, and which pay insufficient regard to the social conditions which prevailed.

I notice that among the monographs, which have derived their inspiration from the Punjab official records, there are few which have a direct bearing on economic matters. Perhaps the University, in consultation with the Keeper of the Records, might consider how far the records already available contain material for theses bearing on social and economic conditions at various periods of the past one hundred and fifty years.

In leaving you gentlemen to your deliberations, I may express the wish that you will have a pleasant and profitable time in Lahore, that you may see much which you can approve and that you will not hesitate to criticise what you dislike.

Reply of Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in thanking His Excellency on behalf of the Commission, said :—

On behalf of the members of this Commission, I thank Your Excellency for the honour you have done us by opening our present session and for the interest you have shown in our work. We remember with pleasure the similar favours which we enjoyed at the hands of your distinguished predecessors Sir Edward Maclagan in 1920 and Sir Malcolm Hailey in 1925.

To-day the Indian Historical Records Commission meets again after seven years of suspended animation due to the financial difficulties of the Government of India, and all of us who take an interest in India's history, whether within or outside this body, will, I am sure, be grateful to the Central Government for having enabled the Commission to resume its activities and to bring together workers on the raw materials of our country's past for the exchange of ideas once again. We earnestly hope that henceforth our meetings will be held every year, as was the case from its foundation in 1919 down to 1930.

We visit Lahore again after 12 years, and during this long interval many changes of personnel among our workers, official and non-official, and much development of historical research have taken place. We are heartened by seeing many new faces in this hall, enthusiastic, I trust, in the cause of Indian history. For their benefit, and also in order to enable the public to discriminate between our Commission and historical conferences of a general character, I may tell you briefly what this Commission is about.

In 1919 the Government of India created a small consultative body under the name of the Indian Historical Records Commission. It was composed of the Keeper of the Central Records and the record officers of the three Presidencies, together with three historical experts from outside this department—among whom I happen to be the sole survivor. Its function was to advise the Government of India on the preservation, sorting, listing and calendaring of the records in its possession and to make suggestions about printing them and giving the public access to the manuscripts. We soon discovered that under the mediæval conditions which had obtained in India until recently, many historical documents of a public character were in private possession and that these surpassed in volume, antiquity and value the documents in the public record offices. We also realised that Government funds could not provide the cost of editing and printing the imperial records with the desirable speed and efficiency and that it was absolutely necessary to enlist the aid of voluntary non-official workers in this task. Hence, in the second year, the Government of India expanded our Commission by adding to the limited and purely departmental original body a number of outside scholars under the names of corresponding and co-opted members. This participation of the public has borne very good fruit by tempting many valuable local hoards of unpublished historical material out into light and either printing them or displaying them at our exhibitions. In fact, it has been a point of honour with every province where we have met, to make a display of historical papers and the relics of historical families in no way inferior to those of the provinces visited by us before. The papers read at our public sessions and printed in our proceedings, as well as the description lists of our exhibits, have made no mean contribution to the study of Indian history and art.

Seven years have passed since this Commission met last. During this interval the country has made unprecedented progress in the printing of old records and in the intensive and critical study of our history on the basis of its raw materials by our University students and teachers. One thing at which this Commission had been hammering since 1924 has attained to fruition in this interval. The official records of the Peshwas in the Marathi language and the many thousand bundles of family records and village accounts brought together in the Alienation Office of Poona have now been completely explored by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai and selections from them, running to 45 volumes, have been printed by the Bombay Government. It is a monumental work accomplished in spite of incredible difficulties and distractions, and on its completion we must thank the Government of Bombay and congratulate its learned editor, the *doyen* of Maratha historians, Govind Sakharam Sardesai. The English records once belonging to the Poona Presidency, which also include letters from many other places than Poona, and which come immediately next in point of time to the Marathi Peshwas' Daftars, have been typed and are in course of publication under the

honorary editorship of Sardesai and myself. Four volumes of this series have been already printed and a fifth, dealing with the Bhonsle dynasty of Nagpur, is in type. This English series is expected to reach 25 volumes before the material is exhausted, because here we have not only the political and diplomatic correspondence as in the pre-British regimes, but also a copious fund of papers written by great British administrators like Elphinstone, Munro and their colleagues, giving much desired information and throwing the light of acute expert criticism on the economic, social and administrative system of the indigenous Maratha Government, on which the new British system was superimposed or grafted. In no other province of India have we this wealth of materials. The Persian news-letters of the Poona archives, so far as they relate to the Punjab, have been translated and printed by the Punjab Government. More papers in the same language are in course of editing by a Professor at Poona.

Another large collection of Marathi despatches and news-letters relating to the Sindhias has been just printed by the Gwalior Government in a bulky volume of nearly 900 pages with helpful notes and corrections by Sardesai, while a second gleaning from the same source was issued by the Satara Historical Research Society. Mr. Sardesai has also brought out new and greatly improved editions of two collections of Marathi historical letters originally published by Sane and Parasnis and long out of print. Among other noticeable Marathi records recently published are the letters of the Amatya house of Bavda (the 197 letters of Rajwade's edition being doubled in this new edition now in progress), the continuation of V. V. Khare's *Lekh-Samgraha* bringing the reports to a period beyond the battle of Assaye, and a second volume of the letters of the old Chandrachud diwans of Indore. In English, the enlightened Government of Baroda has financed the printing of two volumes of the early records of the Gaekwad family, edited by Father Gense and Mr. Banaji, while the Marathi records of this dynasty have now reached their third volume.

But the outstanding event in the discovery of English sources on Maratha history is the acquisition of Sir Charles Malet's manuscript Letter-book, 1780-1784, by a scholarly Indian prince, Maharaj-Kumar Raghbir Singh, D.Litt., who is going to edit it. It will exactly fit in at the beginning of our Poona Residency series which starts from Malet's arrival at Poona as Resident in 1786.

One large branch of Deccan history, which was almost unknown before Cavaleiro Pandurang S. Pissurlencar of Goa devoted himself to its exploration and publication, is the Portuguese relations with the Maratha State and its Muslim predecessors (the Sultanates of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur) and the social and religious condition of the Maratha race living in Goa territory.

Here a new world has been opened to our gaze by this scholar, whose tireless industry and accurate learning have amplified the field of our knowledge almost beyond belief. May he long continue to do so !

In the Puujab, besides the volume of translations from the Persian newsletters of Poona, several studies have been issued by the local record office and some theses of merit, based on work in that office, have been written by M.A. and Ph.D. candidates of the Lahore University. The officers of the Record Office and the professors of the colleges concerned deserve felicitation on the excellent work they have succeeded in getting out of their pupils. I shall not here refer to the historical manuscripts printed at Baroda and Hyderabad or by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, because they are finished articles of the historian's craft and not its raw materials.

The records in the possession of the Central Government have this year been brought to Delhi. We can legitimately call upon the advanced students and professors of our numerous universities to make a better use of this matchless collection than in the past, for it is only the strenuous research of voluntary workers that can do justice to it. At the same time, we have a right to appeal to the Education Department to resume its long suspended activity in the publication of the imperial records and thus restore the honoured tradition of Forrest and Hill, and also to adopt a new scheme of co-ordination between this office and the universities by which the labour of editing and the cost of printing may be shared between the two instead of being thrown entirely on the impoverished Central Revenues.

Two tasks of pressing importance in connection with the Imperial Record Office ought to be mentioned here, though they will be more fully discussed in the members' meeting of to-morrow, namely (1) carrying the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* from 1786 to 1800 or Lord Wellesley's time, after which date records in the English language supplant all others, and (2) the publication of the military and diplomatic papers of the regimes of Warren Hastings, Cornwallis and Shore. On the history of the first two of these Governors-General the printed volumes of Forest and Ross throw very inadequate light, while Shore has been totally neglected by historians. The cost of this would not be prohibitive.

Before the proceedings commenced the Chairman referred in feeling terms to the loss sustained by the Commission by the death of Rao Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, Advocate, High Court, Lahore, and the Right Reverend Alexander Wood, M.A., Ph.D., O.B.E., Lord Bishop of Nagpur, both of whom were corresponding members of the Commission for many years.

The business of the meeting then commenced with the reading of his paper "The Mission of James Browne to the Delhi Court, 1783-1785," by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, at the conclusion of which His Excellency left the University Hall. When the members of the Commission had resumed their seats after taking leave of His Excellency, Sir Jadunath Sarkar was voted to the Chair and the remaining papers or summaries of them were read. Before the conclusion of the meeting Mr. Syed Khursed Ali (Hyderabad) moved a resolution conveying the thanks of the Commission to the Government of the Punjab for the facilities afforded by them in connection with the holding of their fourteenth session at Lahore. He was seconded by the Rev. Father H. Heras (Bombay). Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Madras) then proposed a vote of thanks to the locally co-opted members, the local officer and the University of the Punjab for substantially contributing towards the success of the public meeting of the Commission and the Historical Exhibition. He was seconded by Lt.-Col. H. Bullock (Rawalpindi). Dr. K. N. Sitaram (Curator of the Lahore Museum) moved a vote of thanks to the chair, which was seconded by Dr. D. Ward (Punjab University). All the three motions were unanimously passed. Just after the meeting was over the members of the Commission were entertained at a garden party by the Punjab University Historical Society. On the same evening the members of the Commission were entertained at a dinner by the Hon'ble Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab.

2. The business meeting of the members of the Commission was held at the Punjab Record Office on the 14th December from 10-45 a.m. to 1-30 p.m. after which they were entertained at a luncheon at Nedou's Hotel by Sirdar Shivdeo Singh Malvai, Rais and Jagirdar of the Punjab. In the afternoon the members visited the Shalamar Gardens and the Tombs of Jahangir, Asaf Jah and Nur Jahan. Some of them also paid a visit to Mian Mir. On the same evening they were entertained at dinner by the Hon'ble Mr. Manohar Lal, the Finance Minister.

3. On the 15th December the members visited the D. A. V. College Historical Research Department, the Forman Christian College Historical Museum and the Punjab University Chemical Laboratory. A demonstration was given at the Laboratory by Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, O.B.E., D.Sc., F.Inst.P., on the use of monochromatic filter and ultra-violet light. The demonstration proved to be of great interest to the members of the Commission on account of the fact that the genuineness of documents could be tested by means of this scientific process.

4. The rotographing of ancient manuscripts, maps, etc., by the photostat machine which gives a *facsimile* copy of the manuscript was also demonstrated and explained elaborately to the members of the Commission by Dr. Bhatnagar's assistant, Mr. N. G. Mitra, M.Sc.

5. After lunch the members visited the Lahore Fort. At 4 p.m. they were entertained at an afternoon party at Government House by His Excellency Sir Herbert and Lady Emerson.

6. The Historical Exhibition which was organised in connection with this session in a hall of the Central Museum was opened by the Hon'ble Mr. Manohar Lal, Finance Minister, at 5 p.m. on the 13th in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. The exhibits comprised documents, seals, coins, paintings and other objects of historical interest obtained from Government archives, Indian States, public institutions and private individuals. A complete list of the exhibits will be found in Appendix M.

The Exhibition which was open to the public from the 14th to the 16th December proved a great success and there was a very large attendance every day from persons of all communities till the time of closing.

The Mission of James Browne to the Delhi Court, 1783—1785.

(By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., Hony. D. Litt.)

The death of Mirza Najaf Khan, the last great regent of Delhi, on 6th April, 1782, threw the Government of the Mughal Empire into confusion and civil war. Appeals were made to Warren Hastings by the Emperor Shah Alam II and his different ministers for British assistance and protection. In response to these, the Governor General decided on sending an exploratory mission to Delhi. On 20th August he appointed Major James Browne as his Agent and the Minister of his Government at the Court of Delhi. The instructions given to the envoy on this date strictly limited his activities; he was directed to go to Lucknow, interview the Nawab-Wazir and take his advice as to the line of action to be followed, and then quickly proceed to Farrukhabad on the frontier and there wait for the Emperor's reply to the Governor General's letter asking permission for his envoy to go to the Presence.

The object of Hastings is quite clearly set forth in his letter of instructions written on the above date. "Hitherto we know nothing of the political state of the Court, but from foreign and suspected channels. Your first care must be to collect the materials of a more complete and authentic knowledge. You must study the character, connection, influence, and power of the several competitors for the possession of the King's favour, or the exercise of his authority, the state, views and relations of the independent chiefs and States whose territories border on his." Browne was told to endeavour by all means to inform himself of the designs and proceedings of all foreign agents residing at that Court, especially of the Vakil of Haider Ali. In case the Emperor desired a British force to be sent to his aid, the envoy was to make such assistance conditional upon the dismissal of the corps of Latafat Ali Khan and some of those commanded by the European refugees, the son of Sumroo, &c.

The envoy was instructed to declare to the Emperor on behalf of the Governor General: "My sole objects are to manifest to the world at this particular time the attachment of the Company and of the English nation to promote his interests, and

to know in what manner they may effect it." On getting the Emperor's reply on this single point, Browne was to ask for his dismission; but if the Emperor himself desired the envoy's continuance with him, the British Indian Government might change Browne's appointment to that of a fixed Resident. (*Forrest Selections, Calcutta*, iii. 1025).

Leaving Calcutta at the end of August, Browne made his way to Lucknow and sent his letter to the Emperor asking for permission to proceed to the Court. At Lucknow, on the recommendation of William Palmer, he engaged as his *munshi* and *vakil*, Salah-ud-din, the brother of Faqir Khair-ud-din, Allahabadi. This Khair-ud-din was the *munshi* of the Anderson brothers, Residents with Sindhia, and an eminent historian of that period. Salah-ud-din, who had previously served at the Delhi Court and had great influence over the nobles there, was expected to smooth matters for the British envoy.

If Browne's mission was intended to be anything more than a complimentary visit and to effect a protective alliance between the East India Company and the Emperor, it was doomed to failure, because he was instructed to refuse positively the payment of the Bengal tribute of 26 lakhs which Lord Clive had guaranteed to the Emperor by the Treaty of 1765 and which Warren Hastings had left unpaid for eleven years now, and the restoration of the districts of Kora-Kara and Allahabad which the British had assigned to the Emperor by treaty and then taken away. We also know from the Maratha envoy, Hingane's despatches to Poona and the Persian records of the Delhi Court that the Emperor and his ministers were mortally afraid of British influence on their Government, as they abhorred the idea of his being turned into a British puppet like the then Nawab of Oudh. The Peshwa was constantly writing to the Emperor and to Mahadji Sindhia to prevent such English intervention at Delhi at all costs, because "if the English once plant their feet there, no power would be left independent in India".

By the time Browne's letter reached Delhi, Mirza Muhammad Shafi had crushed his rivals and made himself Mir Bakhshi (Amir-ul-umara) and regent of the Empire. He made the Emperor write a reply to Browne asking him to go back to Calcutta, as the late disturbance at the capital had now entirely subsided and there was no longer any need for English help. Browne at Farrukhabad was mortified to receive such a rebuff, but Salah-ud-din undertook to go alone to Delhi and get this order rescinded. Leaving Farrukhabad on 15th December, 1782, the munshi reached Delhi on the 27th and secured through the ministers there an imperial letter asking Browne to visit the Mir Bakhshi Shafi (then at Agra) first and act according to his advice. Salah-ud-din himself at the invitation of Shafi went to Agra (12th February, 1783) to prepare the ground for Browne's visit to Shafi. The Major himself arrived there and had his first meeting with Shafi on the 26th of that month. He remained in the imperial general's camp till November next, when after the murder of Shafi and the succession of Afrasiyab Khan to the post of Amir-ul-umara, he over-rode the delaying tactics of Afrasiyab and came to Delhi alone, putting up in Safdar Jang's tomb (11th December) and then fell ill for a month.

On 5th February, 1784, he was at last received in audience by the Emperor and delivered the letter and presents sent by Warren Hastings for the throne. Here he stayed, trying to build up an English party hostile to the Marathas among the nobles. The royal heir Prince Jawan Bakht (Jahandar Shah) fled away from

Delhi palace one stormy night (14th April) and went to Lucknow, where the Governor General was then on a visit. The Emperor, in alarm, sent Browne to Lucknow to induce Hastings to send the Prince back and to renew the Bengal tribute. He arrived there on 28th May and left it a month later for Agra (arrival 14th July). Meantime another revolution had taken place at the Delhi Court. Abdul Ahad Khan (Majd-ud-daulah Bahram Jang), the old favourite of the Emperor and the staunchest ally of the English, had been deposed and imprisoned by Afrasiyab Khan, who now took the Emperor with himself to Agra (arrival c. 5th August). Thereafter Browne continued in Agra till the murder of Afrasiyab Khan (2nd November), and then moved in the Emperor's train to Mahadji Sindhia's camp and with that camp to Dig, Agra and Mathura, taking his *congee* at the last-named place on 19th April, 1785.

The news of the death of Afrasiyab reached Agra, where the Emperor and Browne were staying, the morning after the event. Browne lost no time in setting his anti-Maratha plans in train. Through his munshi Salah-ud-din he pressed the Emperor—who needed no pressing in this matter—to recall his old favourite Abdul Ahad Khan from his prison in Aligarh, in order to make him regent again and thus baulk the ambition of Mahadji Sindhia. He is even said to have promised British aid for the protection of the Emperor against the Marathas. The attempt failed; the Emperor went over to Mahadji's camp (15th November) with Browne in his train, and on the 4th December following appointed Sindhia as his regent and commander-in-chief. Browne tried hard to build up a coalition of the disappointed Muslim officials and nobles and the crafty Kashmiri agents of the late Amir-ul-umara, in order to thwart Mahadji; but it was all in vain, because Warren Hastings had already decided to abandon his old plan of establishing a British protectorate over the Delhi Government through some subservient Muslim minister (as was the case at Lucknow); he saw that Mahadji Sindhia was the coming man and that the English Company would gain more by continuing their friendly relations with him than by antagonising him out of jealousy. He, therefore, publicly adopted the policy of dealing with the Mughal Court through this Maratha chief and utilising his personal friendship with Hastings rather than directly through a British resident posted at Delhi. As the Governor General wrote to his Council on 22nd April, 1784:—"There was a time when it was my opinion that it would be for the credit and interest of the English Government to exert their endeavours to relieve the Shah (Alam) from the thraldom of his ministers and to establish his authority at least in his own domains. The conjunction was then (*viz.*, about August 1782) favourable.... Affairs are now much changed," as the imperial domains had been too much convulsed and devastated to yield any surplus revenue for maintaining an English subsidiary force. (Forrest, Calcutta, iii. 1089-'90).

A subsequent minute, written on 1st December, 1784, makes his new foreign policy quite unmistakable:—"Sindhia's general character and apparent interests... are more likely to incline him to a strict maintenance of his integrity to our Government... I feel little apprehension from the designs of Mahadji Sindhia and securely rely on his possessions (? professions). Indeed, I have never known any good to proceed from the timid policy which gives trust and withdraws confidence." (*Ibid*, 1129-'30.)

But while such was the deliberate policy of his master, Browne, throughout the year 1784 and even after, restlessly intrigued in an opposite direction. He was

bitterly hostile to Mahadji Sindhia and reported to the Governor General every rumour or calumny that might discredit him. He found himself entirely superseded at Delhi and his mission made an utter futility. It is clear from the original instructions given by Warren Hastings that the Governor General contemplated a very speedy conclusion of Browne's mission,*—in a month or two,—unless the Emperor should insist on having a permanent British Resident at his Court and the Calcutta Council should sanction the appointment. But no such post was created, and yet Browne lingered at the Imperial Court for fourteen months after his first interview with the Emperor (from 5th February, 1784 to 19th April, 1785) at a very heavy and quite useless cost to the Bengal revenue. He clung to his post and its lordly allowances, and tried to assert an equality with James Anderson, the British Resident in Sindhia's Court, at all public functions (as Khair-ud-din illustrates minutely). It was only after John Macpherson had become Governor General and enforced the Directors' orders to cut down Warren Hastings's prodigal expenditure in the uncalled for duplication of envoys at Lucknow and Delhi, that Browne was made to return to Calcutta—and that too after receiving two successive letters of recall from Macpherson.

James Browne's last diplomatic stroke was an attempt to damn Mahadji Sindhia in the eyes of the English and cause a rupture between the two Powers which would probably end in a renewal of war and the expulsion of Mahadji from the control of Delhi. His persistent rivalry with James Anderson and spirit of working at cross-purposes, or at least in jealous secretiveness, towards this other Resident, instead of heartily co-operating with him, introduced a harmful element of discord into British diplomacy at Delhi, now that Mahadji Sindhia had become the Emperor's official keeper. The cross-currents of this intrigue and rivalry are fully revealed in the memoirs of Anderson's munshi Khair-ud-din, to whom we are indebted for the following account ; and the account is mainly corroborated by the Marathi records :—

" On 18th March, 1785, Major Browne submitted to the Emperor the new Governor General's letter recalling him. The Nau-roz was celebrated on the 19th. Shah Nizam-ud-din induced Browne to send to the Governor General, enclosed in his own letter, a letter from the Emperor to Macpherson demanding the tribute of Bengal† including the arrears (for over 12 years) ; also a letter from Sindhia (as chief minister) to the same effect ; Browne kept the matter a secret from Anderson, even when the latter visited him after hearing of these letters from his spy. A second order came from the Governor General urging Browne to return. He took his *congee* of the Emperor on 19th April, 1785, when Mahadji attended by order. The Emperor spoke to Browne to urge Governor Macpherson to send the Bengal tribute, about which he had written again and again to Governor Hastings, and to remedy the default, ' as therein lay the good and profit of the English.' Thereafter Shah Nizam-ud-din turned the (secret) audience into a public darbar, so that among Major Browne's followers Mr. Hannay (?), Mr. Bird, Salah-ud-din Muhammad Khan and Mirza

* " Your Commission is professedly limited to a single point, and of course to the time required for effecting it, and that being effected you will demand your dismission." (Hastings, 20 August 1782. Forrest, iii. 1028).

† Hastings had instructed Browne to give the Emperor a clear negative if he revived the demand for the Bengal tribute. " The discussion of these pretensions must be unpleasant, and should therefore if possible be avoided. If you find it unavoidable, the following are the ground on which to justify the refusal of both....To pay the tribute would be impossible, nor without the commands of the Company have we the power to allow it." (Forrest, iii. 1027).

Hidayatullah, among Sindhia's followers Rana Khan Bhai, Mirza Rahim Beg, Rao Ambaji, Deshmukh, (Aba) Chitnis and Anand Rao Narsi, and among the Emperor's servants Shah Nizam-ud-din and some eunuchs were present.

"The Emperor said to Browne : 'When Mirza Jawan Bakht went away to Lucknow, I sent you there for bringing him back and settling the question of the Bengal tribute. Though Mr. Hastings and Asaf-ud-daulah were present there, nothing was done, and the trouble of the long journey to Lucknow and back was (needlessly) borne by you. Verily the Wazir ignores the fact that there is a Padishah. Such is the Wazir's character that in spite of his being turned of forty, he spends his days and nights in cock-fights and pigeon-flying, roving through the bazars and buying things in the Chowk.' At each of these remarks, Mahadji expressed surprise and smiled, and by his questions about the contemptible conduct of the Wazir made the Emperor reiterate them. Then Sindhia remarked, 'Probably Mirza Jawan Bakht has adopted a similar life', and the Emperor replied, 'What doubt about it ? He too is absorbed in such childish play so that he does not think about me. It is the Wazir's duty to come to my presence with his troops and the Prince and in concert with the sardars of my army regulate the realm and thereby win the satisfaction of his lord and master.'

"Then Maharajah Sindhia addressed Major Browne, 'In the affair of the Shahzada the Governor General (Hastings) had repeatedly written to me to secure the Emperor's pardon for his offences and to call him to my side, and his letters to this effect were with me. In compliance with his request I have induced the Emperor to pardon his son and favour him. But the Governor General has not yet sent him back. I know not what he is planning in his mind. His Majesty has again and again expressed his anger and censured me for this (contumacy). I, out of my friendship with the English, have patiently borne his anger and never spoken a word in complaint of this delay. Then, again, there is the Bengal tribute withheld by the English for many years past. You must tell Governor Macpherson to think of the future consequences and send this money without delay. On this point the Emperor has repeatedly issued orders to me, but out of my love for the English I have neglected to carry out his orders. Let it not happen that at last one day the thing may come out of my heart to my tongue and become the cause of a rupture and injury to both sides. I am now speaking thus not by command of His Majesty, but on my own behalf, as I wish to continue my friendly relations with the English. Rana Khan Bhai, without realising the impropriety of this speech, broke in with 'As there is friendship between the Maharajah and the English Governor, he is informing the Governor General by order of the Emperor.' The Emperor added, 'Madho Rao Bahadur is present with such a large army and artillery for carrying out my orders. Every one who would disobey me and fail or delay in paying his tribute will be chastised by Sindhia at my bidding.'

"Major Browne was all ears when listening to this conversation in the darbar, and never once opened his lips by way of reply. At the end of it he remarked, 'The English and the Wazir are obedient to the orders of the Padishah. I shall report all His Majesty's commands to them.' Saying this he put on the robe of farewell and came out. On reaching his own tent he ordered Salah-ud-din and the other clerks who had been present at the darbar to put down all these speeches in writing, and after sealing the report with their seals and endorsing it with the signatures of himself and the other sahibs of his party, he kept it carefully." (*Ibrat namah*, ii. 106 *et seq.*)

After securing this evidence of Sindha's hostility, Browne triumphantly sent the report to the Governor General, under cover of his letter dated 20th April, in which he writes : "The accompanying narrative of what passed on the occasion (*viz.*, my dismission from His Majesty) will, I imagine, explain the motives of Sindha's conduct on this instant and convince you, Hon'ble Sir, of the nature and extent of his views. I trust also that you will at the same time do me the justice to recollect the frequent and earnest remonstrances which I have made against the different steps by which the power of Sindha, rising to its present height, has sent him into a condition to use the language which he has done. Probably the time is not remote when the veil will be totally withdrawn and everything will appear in its real form." After posting this letter by *dak chauki*, he set out on his return that very night.

The following is Browne's own version of the conversation at the Darbar that reached the Calcutta Council. (Select Proceed., 12th May, 1785) :—

NARRATIVE of what passed on the occasion of Major Browne taking leave of his Majesty Shah Alum, April 20th, 1785.

" My dismission was to have taken place yesterday, but was procrastinated at the desire of Sindha to this morning, and about 9 o'clock his Majesty sent to summon me to his presence informing me that Sindha was already arrived.

" After paying my respects to his Majesty and his asking some indifferent questions, his Majesty was pleased to express his concern at my departure, but added that as I was sent for to Calcutta for the purpose of more clearly explaining his sentiments to the English Government, I might be of essential service both to the English and to him, since no person was so well informed of the state of everything in this quarter.

" In reply I expressed my acknowledgment to his Majesty for the honour he was pleased to do me, and said that my duty to the English Government and to his Majesty both prompted me to give a faithful detail of every thing that came within the compass of my knowledge when I should arrive at Calcutta.

" After granting one Khelat of dismission (as is the custom at the Courts of Hindostan), Sindia told his Majesty that he had something particular to say to me, and therefore requested that his Majesty would order the servants and all other persons in whom he had not particular confidence to quit the tent. This the Shah immediately consented with, and there then remained near his Majesty's musnud besides Sindia, myself, Lieutenants Rind and Bird, belonging to his Majesty, Shah Nizam-ul-din, belonging to Sindia, Rana Khan Bye and Ambajee and Mirza Reheim Beg, belonging to me Sala-ul-din Mahomed Khan and Mirza Hidayatulla Beg. I believe there were some others near enough to hear the conversation but not perfectly. I am thus particular in order that the means may exist of forming a just idea how far Sindia wished that this matter should remain a secret.

" The conversation was then opened by Sindia himself. He said, " My friendship for the English is too well-known to require any new proofs or professions, and it is as their friend that I now desire you to inform the Governor General that it is my advice that he should fall upon means to satisfy the Shah for *Rents* due to him, which will be both for the Honor and Advantage of the English." I replied, " This is a subject which has often been discussed, and on which both his Majesty and yourself have very lately addressed the Governor General." " True (said Sindia), but I now speak to you for myself as the Friend and Well-wisher to the English" —The

Shah then said, " I have written and spoken to them for years to no purpose, and last year I sent Major Browne to Lucknow to explain my situation particularly to Mr. Hastings, but this produced no effect either with respect to my requisitions or the return of the Shahzada. What better expectations can I form from Mr. Macpherson ? Had the English and the Vizier acted as they ought to have done, they might in conjunction with you (addressing himself to Sindia) have reduced to my authority the whole Empire of Lahore and Kathiawar ; but the English have totally neglected me ; and as for the Vizier, he employs himself in fighting cocks and running about Lucknow, and scarcely knows who is the King and who is Vizier." " What, (said Sindia with seeming surprise) does the Vizier fight cocks and run about the town ? He is very young, I suppose." " No ", replied his Majesty, " he is near forty." Sindia then changing the subject asked me if I should go by way of Lucknow ? I told him that I should go by water from Cawnpore, but that as I had business both public and private at Lucknow, I should endeavour to find time to go over there, while boats were preparing for me at Cawnpore. But that my principal object was to reach Calcutta as expeditiously as possible. Sindia then said, " The Shahzada is still at Lucknow. Mr. Hastings wrote me a letter which I can produce and also told Bhow Buckshy that, if I would obtain the Shah's pardon and be security for the safety of the Shahzada, he would return to Court. I have offered both, but still he will not come ". I told him that this is a point on which I do not know the sentiments of any of the parties, and that therefore Sindia had better write to them himself. He replied, " As you are going to Lucknow and Calcutta, there is no occasion for me to write ; you can explain everything and I request you will."

" On the subject of Shahzada, his Majesty said nothing in addition to what Sindia had said : which I attribute to the consideration he now feels in his own mind that the Shahzada's residence in the territories of the Vizier or the English is the best security that the Royal House of Timur can have that it shall not be set aside when the present purposes of ambition shall have been answered by the use of its name."

JAMES BROWNE.

Thus, Browne's embassy to Delhi ended in nothing, after having been "a source of heavy expense to the Company " (as Governor Macpherson noted) for over two years and a half. He had been acting in clear contravention of the original instructions and subsequent statement of policy sent to him by his master. His self-imposed tasks of establishing British control over the Delhi Government and of setting the English and Mahadji Sindia by the ears utterly failed.

But the student of the dying Mughal empire will be failing in gratitude if he omits to recognise the service that Browne did to the history of this period. A master of the Persian and Hindustani tongues, he utilised his splendid opportunities at Lucknow, Agra and Delhi to collect a number of valuable Persian historical mss. and worked upon them, publishing the materials in his *India Tracts*, to which J. D. Cunningham and other writers are deeply indebted. During this embassy he secured a ms of Kashirao's Persian narrative of the third battle of Panipat, his translation of which (printed in the *Asiatick Researches* in 1799) was our sole source on that event until recently. I have traced in a Nawab's library a ms of this account which was transcribed on 13th January 1785 at Dig, in the imperial camp, where Browne was then staying. Was it the copy made for him ?

We may briefly conclude the story by saying that the Emperor's renewal of his demand for the Bengal tribute created a political crisis. The Governor General and Anderson were both furious when they learnt of it. But, thanks to the tact and influence of Khair-ud-din and the wise patience and moderation of Anderson, the storm blew over ; both Emperor and Regent immediately climbed down and totally disavowed their letters of demand !

(Authorities :—Khair-ud-din's *Ibratnamah* (Pers. Ms.) ; Secret Proceedings up to May 1785, and Forrest's *Selections*, Calcutta ed. Volume iii. (in English) ; *Dilli-Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkaranen* and *Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindhia's Gwalior*, 1937 (in Marathi).

Manuscript Letter—Book of Sir Charles Warre Malet, 1780—1784.

(By Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghbir Singh, D. Litt., LL.B.).

Foll. 154 : 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; written on both sides of the leaf, at an average about 45 lines, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long on each side ; written in a good round bold hand, the names of the addressees are in a still bigger script.

It was Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who first directed my attention towards this Letter-Book of Sir Charles Warre Malet, which was for sale with Messrs. Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., London. This is the only copy hitherto known to exist, and its contents are nowhere to be found, neither in the Poona Residency Records nor in other papers of the Bombay Government ; hence realising its historical importance I secured it for my own collection.

It is a manuscript Letter-Book containing copies of 211 letters written by Malet from Cambay, Ahmedabad, Surat, Broach and Bombay to his superiors at Surat and Bombay, General Goddard and other officers among the General's associates, and his own personal friends, patrons and relations both in India and England. The letters were written during the period from January 17, 1780 to May 24, 1784. In copying out these letters from the originals the copyist has made numerous mistakes mainly due to the extremely bad handwriting of Malet ; the copyist has not only misread many words and failed to copy down the various stops correctly, but he has also inadvertently omitted many words here and there thus making the meaning of some sentences quite obscure.

Malet, whose letters are collected together in this Letter-Book, was the son of Rev. Alexander Malet. Malet went out to Bombay in the East India Company's civil service in 1770. In 1774, he was appointed the Resident at Cambay and continued to hold that post till February 8, 1784, when he handed over his charge to his successor, Mr. Holford, and left for Bombay. In 1779, he was made the Persian Interpreter to the factory at Surat as well, and on January 3, 1784, he was given an occasional seat at the Surat Board. During all these ten years of his resident-ship at Cambay, he was mainly busy with the affairs of Cambay and other matters in Northern Gujrat. He was, however, once involved in affairs of very great importance ; the very next year following his appointment there (in 1775), Raghoba came down to Malet in Cambay and sought his protection as a representative of the English. Thus Malet was responsible for having "preserved his (Raghoba's) person, jewels and several grants of territories to the Company".

But by the year 1780, when this Letter-Book begins, the actual storm-centre had shifted away from Cambay, and during the rest of his stay at Cambay he was never again called upon to directly participate in any event of first-rate importance. The local events were many and not without some importance, yet they were too petty to influence the general course of the history of India as a whole or of the province of Gujrat in particular. Malet, however, could not rest contented with his routine matters at Cambay ; he belongs to that select band of the servants of the Company, who laboured hard trying to gather knowledge about the geographical and historical details of the province where they were posted, who made it a point to study and make themselves fully conversant with the Indian vernaculars and the Eastern classical languages. Immediately after his appointment at Cambay and soon after his having got rid of the direct responsibilities for Raghoba's affairs he laboured hard to collect together and prepare an account of the province of Gujrat and its political connections. In years to come when the Bombay Government was called upon to deal with and try to settle the affairs of Gujrat, this account along with other details gathered by Malet from his first-hand knowledge proved to be of immense help. Further, he applied himself for full two years to the study of the Persian language and as a result he was appointed the Persian Interpreter to the Surat Board in 1779. During the campaign of Goddard in Gujrat (January-May, 1780) Malet helped the General very much by supplying him with all sorts of detailed information about the province. This probably suggested to him the idea, and by the end of October, 1780, Malet had prepared a map of Gujrat. Once he even thought of translating and writing a detailed historical account of Gujrat, but later gave up the idea. The Letter-Book gives us many details about Malet's intellectual activities during the period.

As the main interest of Malet during the four years covered by the Letter Book was centered in Cambay, the affairs in Cambay and those connected with it naturally take the first and foremost place in his letters. The Letter-Book is full of details about the court-intrigues, the ever-changing moods of the Nawab, Momin Khan, and his attitude towards the English, his secret overtures to the various Maratha generals and the Peshwa's government at Poona, and the helplessness of Momin Khan's successor, Najim Khan. Malet, however, was very anxious to carry out an ambitious programme. Since the beginning of the year 1780, Malet had begun to be impressed with the situation and the strategical importance of Cambay due to the access it commands to the northern parts of the province of Gujrat, and also due to its direct touch with Surat and Bombay by the sea-route. Hence Malet began to think out ways and means by which the State of Cambay would become a possession of the English Company. He began with restoring the influence of the English at the Cambay Court, and materially helped in the rise of Mirza Zaman, the Naib, to power simply because the Mirza was favourably disposed towards the English. Malet favoured the cause of the Nawab as against the Gaikwad and tried his best to get the abolition of the Chauth of Cambay. Malet's one great idea was to secure the State for the Company as a reversion on the death of Momin Khan, but his superior authorities did not take up the same and on Momin Khan's death in January 1784, his son-in-law, Najim Khan, succeeded him as the Nawab of Cambay. Malet, however, established the hold of the English on the city by securing the control of its Phoorza Gate for the Company (March 30, 1780). He hoped to further tighten his hold over the government of the State through Mirza Zaman, but the Nawab greatly resented any such control. The

Nawab was an old, weak and vacillating man, who by turns favoured or was ill-disposed towards Malet and his compatriots ; and even when he was favourably disposed towards the English he could not resist the temptation of making overtures to the Marathas. Malet had collected together many proofs of the overtures and whenever he found the Nawab hostile he would send down to his superiors these proofs of the Nawab's infidelity to the English and would strongly urge that the Nawab be punished with deposition and his State be confiscated and added to the possessions of the Company. But these suggestions of Malet did not find favour with his superiors, and when the Nawab somehow came to know of these facts, he did not hesitate to put an end to the domineering influence of Malet by removing Mirza from his high office of Vazir-ship (February 20, 1782). All efforts of Malet to restore the Mirza to power in the State failed and the Nawab went on even to confiscate the property of Mirza in Cambay. To the last day of Momin Khan's life (January 22, 1784), the relations of Malet with him were anything but cordial. Malet tried to persuade Najim Khan to be kind to Mirza but these entreaties too did not bring any better result. With the transfer of Malet to Bombay he ceased to have any direct interest either in the Mirza or in the affairs of Cambay. Many of these details relating to the affairs of Cambay are for the first time brought to light by this Letter-Book.

Malet's close association with the affairs of Cambay brought him into an intimate touch with the government of the Gaikwad. The tangled web of political partitions and administrative divisions of Gujerat had to some extent been set right by the treaty concluded by Goddard with Fateh Singh Gaikwad ; yet many questions still remained undecided. Malet was much concerned about a final settlement of the question of the Chauth of Cambay, and even went down to Ahmedabad to meet and personally acquaint Goddard with full details of the case. The problem of the regular payment of the Chauth along with a settlement of other payments like ' Kathi-pal ' continued to be constant sources of trouble and friction. Every year troubles would arise between the Nawab and the officers of the Gaikwad, and Malet would be busy intervening in the dispute and harassing his superiors with all sorts of details and complaints against the Gaikwad. Thus incidentally the Letter-Book gives us a very complete picture of the relations that existed between these newly-established Maratha chieftains and other local rulers in the province. It also throws much light on the condition of northern Gujerat during these years. Malet graphically describes the various court-intrigues and the continued mal-administration that flourished at the Courts of Cambay and Baroda. Complete anarchy prevailed in the region between the Mahi and the Sabarmati rivers. The Gaikwad and his Maratha officers were not much concerned about the peace and tranquillity of these tracts save when collecting their dues. The raids of the Kathis and troubles created by the Kolis practically devastated the country ; time and again efforts were made to check these raids or to put down all refractory forces, but all these arrangements never proved effectual as they were never carried out. The English garrison at Ahmedabad was so much troubled by the continuance of these disturbances and insults of the Kathi invaders that its leader, Captain Rattray, was once simply provoked to attempt with success a surprise attack on the Kathis (*circa* December, 15, 1780).

Malet was a severe critic of Fateh Singh Gaikwad. He honestly thought that the treaty made by Goddard only caused loss to the Company. Malet considered

it to be simply treacherous that after having gained everything at the expense of the Company, Fateh Singh should do nothing to help the Company even when he had definitely promised it in his treaty. In his letters Malet gives us a detailed account of the movements of Fateh Singh, the important happenings at his court, and describes at length his atrocities and high-handed rule. It was with bitter disappointment that Malet saw the city of Ahmedabad being handed over to Fateh Singh ; with Surat, Gogha and Cambay already under the English control ; he considered it most essential that the English should occupy Ahmedabad too and thus add the last link to the chain which would make the footing of the English in Gujrat quite firm and secure. Had Malet been given a free hand, or had his suggestions been heeded to, the history of Gujrat would have been quite different. He was for an aggressive policy and had once (in January 1780), even proposed to attack and conquer for the Company places like Borsad which were near about Cambay.

Even when posted at Cambay, Malet was actively busy carrying on a good deal of correspondence with many other important persons and was taking a keen interest in the events happening in the various distant theatres of activity. His earlier letters contain numerous references, even though they are very cursory, to all the important events of the campaign of Goddard in Gujrat and later at Bassein and in the Konkan. He was continually receiving messengers from the officers busy with the campaign in Malwa, and he in his turn communicated the details of the same to his friends and superiors. When in Surat or at Bombay, Malet was up-to-date in his knowledge about the happenings in distant Deccan and the naval engagements that were being fought with the French in the Indian seas (June-July, 1782). In one of his last letters incidentally he gives us a short summary of the history of the Bombay mint department for the period of 17 years ending in 1784. It must, however, be admitted that even though many of these letters contain references to the contemporary events they do not add much to our knowledge ; they only corroborate known facts.

But above all these things, the importance of the Letter-Book consists in the fact that it gives us a running commentary on the contemporary events, campaigns, treaties and on the policy that was being pursued by the English. Malet was not only in close touch with the contemporary events and happenings, but was also clever enough to understand the various political intricacies of the situation and could realise the possible consequences of the same. Moreover, he had been trying hard to know the past history of the various Indian powers and to search out the points of their strength and weakness ; he thus possessed full knowledge that was essential to understand and grasp the real state of affairs. Finally, the aloofness of Malet gave him the right bent of mind to discuss and criticise the various contemporary happenings with the impartiality of a disinterested on-looker. He not only gives a complete criticism of the campaigns of Goddard, the policy that was being pursued by the Bombay Government in respect to the Gaikwad, but in some places even goes on to discuss the true nature of the Maratha Government and points out threadbare the causes of its weakness as well. In some of his later communications he discusses at some length some of the terms of the treaty concluded with the Marathas and the possible effects of Mahadji Sindhia obtaining a footing in Gujrat. Malet is rather hard on Goddard and bitterly resents his domineering influence at the Bombay Council ;

but that does not in any way detract from the value of his criticism of Goddard's strategy. Malet's outlook is that of an Englishman and he was studying things with a view to find out how best to take advantage of the weakness or the failings of the Indian powers.

But throughout the years when Hornby was the Governor of Bombay (*i.e.*, upto Decemeber 31, 1783), one great complaint of Malet against his superiors, specially against Hornby, was that his merit, abilities and all his efforts to equip himself for higher and more responsible posts were not receiving due recognition. He hoped that soon after his appointment as the Persian Interpreter at the Surat Board, he would be given a seat at the same Board, but when it did not come off his disappointment was great. When for years his requests went unheeded, he applied for the revival of the Baronet's patent, which was latent in the family since the time of Charles II, hoping that the Baronetcy would help him in his promotion and rise. On January 1, 1784, Boddam became the Governor of Bombay and immediately Malet's fortune took a definite turn for the better ; within three days after his installation, Boddam arranged to give Malet his much-coveted seat at the Surat Board. But before long he was called away to Bombay, where he was appointed the Persian Interpreter and one of the Private Secretaries to the Bombay Governor. Malet was given charge of the Bombay mint also. Malet now rightly expected better days and a year later (in 1785) he was called upon to fulfil the great and important office of Resident-Minister at Poona, whereby he not only played a great part in Indian history, but greatly influenced its course also.

As an independent contemporary authority and as a historical source-book for our knowledge of the First Maratha War, this Letter-Book does not add much to our knowledge of the main series of events, nor does it in any way revolutionise our present point of view. But it definitely fills some gaps here and there by giving fuller details of a few unknown and minor campaigns in Gujrat, and substantially adds to our knowledge by giving us a complete picture of the state of affairs and the political situation then prevailing in Northern Gujrat. The Letter-Book throws a flood of light on the policy of the English towards the various Indian powers. Further, it clearly shows that the weak, vacillating and hesitant attitude of the Bombay Government in the beginning, and later the over-cautiousness combined with complete lack of any daring and decisive action by Goddard were mainly responsible for the failure of the English arms in the Konkan during these years.

A rough contents-list of the complete Letter-Book which is being appended to this paper will enable scholars to form an exact idea of its contents and estimate its true importance. It gives me pleasure to further add that this Letter-Book is being edited by me and will most probably form one of the many volumes of 'The Poona Residency Records', which are being published by the Bombay Government under the general editorship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

APPENDIX.

A Rough Contents—List of "Malet's Letter-Book".

Letters Nos. 1-36; January 17 to May 23, 1780.—Seven letters wholly useless ; the remaining ones are important and deal with the affairs of Cambay, the changing attitude of the Nawab, the restoration of the British influence at his court, the campaign of General Goddard in Gujrat and his return to Surat and the settlement

of affairs with the Gaikwad with special reference to his relations with Cambay. Some of these letters throw good deal of light on the anarchical state of the province of Gujurat and the disturbances caused by the raids of the Kathis and the Kolis. Malet's visit to General Goddard at Ahmedabad in the third week of February 1780, to discuss and acquaint the latter with the details of the relations of Cambay with the Gaikwad.

Letter No. 37 ; May 26, 1780.—A detailed summary of Goddard's campaign in Gujurat along with its criticism by Malet.

Letters Nos. 38-44, June 5 to July 31, 1780.—One letter wholly useless; the rest describe the inimical attitude of the Nawab of Cambay and his overtures with the Maratha chiefs and the Poona Court, and finally contains a stringent criticism of the Nawab's conduct by Malet.

Letter No. 45 ; August 12, 1780.—An important letter summarising the course of events during the Maratha War, and Malet's criticism of the treaty concluded by Goddard with the Gaikwad.

Letters Nos. 46-70 ; August 17, 1780 to April 16, 1781.—Seven letters useless the remaining ones deal with affairs in Northern Gujurat and give details of the events in Cambay, the movements of Fateh Singh Gaikwad, the troubles caused by the Kathis and the Kolis, the proposed arrangements for protecting the territories of the Gaikwad and the State of Cambay from their raids, the various disputes arising between the officers of the Gaikwad and the Nawab, and the intervention of Malet in the same. The references to other contemporary events are few and far between. On August 18, 1780, Malet for the first time puts his claim and request for an occasional seat on the Surat Board.

Letters Nos. 71-2 ; May 4 and 9, 1781.—These refer to the events of the campaign in Malwa and the probable effects on its result if the Gaikwad had helped the English with his cavalry.

Letter No. 73 ; May 14, 1781.—A short yet an excellent summary of all the events connected with the Maratha War.

Letters Nos. 74-76 ; May 25 to June 18, 1781.—Details about the policy of the English towards the Gaikwad and the relations of the latter with the Nawab of Cambay.

Letter No. 77 ; July 1, 1781.—Details about events in Malwa as known from Colonel Muir.

Letter No. 78 ; July 18, 1781.—Useless.

Letter No. 79 ; July 21, 1781.—A detailed summary of the recent events and Goddard's campaign in Konkan; some references to various events in Europe just then known in India.

Letters Nos. 80-83 ; July 18 to August 4, 1781.—Affairs in Cambay, the attitude of and doings of the Gaikwad.

Letters Nos. 84-85 ; August 7 and 8, 1781.—Correspondence with Goddard and Watherstone regarding the former's previous campaigns.

Letters Nos. 86-87, August 17 and September 2, 1781.—A severe criticism of the policy that was being followed in respect to Gaikwad, and Malet's suggestions for future policy. Goddard on a visit to the Gaikwad.

Letters Nos. 88-90 ; September 10 and 14, 1781.—These refer mainly to Cambay affairs, with special reference to the inimical attitude of the Nawab towards the English.

Letter No. 91 ; September 20, 1781.—Malet's criticism of the way in which Goddard carried out the campaigns and negotiations.

Letter No. 92 ; September 22, 1781.—Malet's private letter stating his claim to an occasional seat at the Surat Board.

Letters Nos. 93-94 ; September 27 and October 3, 1781.—Affairs of Cambay, movements of the Gaikwad and the situation in Gujarat.

Letters Nos. 95-97 ; October 8 to 15, 1781.—These relate to Goddard; not very important. A criticism of Goddard's appointment to the Bombay Council.

Letters Nos. 98-107 ; October 21 to December 14, 1781.—These deal with the Cambay affairs, the relations of Cambay with the Gaikwad, the state of affairs in the Gaikwad's territories especially in Ahmedabad, and the policy and the movements of the Gaikwad. There are just a few references to the movements of Colonel Muir and Mahadji Sindhia in Malwa.

Letter No. 108 ; December 27, 1781.—A personal letter to Mr. Macpherson of the Bengal Council relating to his own promotion and rise.

Letter No. 109 ; January 5, 1782.—Malet discusses the true nature of the Maratha Government and mentions the causes of its weakness.

Letters Nos. 110-111 ; January 10 and 14, 1782.—Malet puts down all the relevant facts about Cambay to be borne in mind when making negotiations with the Marathas. The note sent by Malet along with letter No. 111 gives an excellent summary of the relations of the English with Cambay.

Letters Nos. 112-113 ; January 22 and 23, 1782.—Useless.

Letter No. 114 ; February 14, 1782.—A very detailed letter giving an account of the recent developments in Cambay describing the changed attitude of the Nawab, the arrest of Mirza Zaman and the way in which Malet got him released from the arrest.

Letters Nos. 115 and 117 ; February 22 and April 16, 1782.—Important letters addressed to David Anderson discussing various matters connected with the First Maratha War and about the conclusion of peace with the Marathas. In letter No. 117, Malet describes at length the wretched condition of the Bombay Presidency and the mess into which its administration had been led due to the over-dominating influence of Goddard.

Letter No. 117 ; March 7, 1782.—Letter relating to Mirza Zaman; Malet then in Surat along with Mirza Zaman and others of Mirza's fellow-exiles.

Letters Nos. 118-119 ; April 19, 1782.—Malet refers to his claim to a seat at the Surat Board. There are many references to various events in India in the letter No. 119.

Letters Nos. 120-123 ; April 19 to May 5, 1782.—Cambay affairs and the advisability of maintaining the factory at Cambay are discussed.

Letter No. 124 ; May 12, 1782.—Letter to David Anderson hoping for a speedy and successful ending of the peace negotiations ; some news of Delhi and the Punjab.

Letters Nos. 125-131 ; May 25 to August 15, 1782.—Malet describes the affairs of Cambay with special reference to Mirza Zaman and his other fellow-exiles in Surat. Malet requests to be relieved of his post at Cambay and also asks for a seat at the Surat Board. His letters and requests go unheeded and unanswered.

Letter No. 132 ; September 12, 1782.—Useless.

Letters Nos. 133-134 ; September 13 and 28, 1782.—Malet at Bombay to get the Cambay affairs, specially relating to Mirza Zaman, settled by the Bombay Council. Letters contain important details about the naval engagements and movements of the English navy in Indian seas off the Coromandal and Malabar coasts, the resignation of General Goddard, and the wretched condition of the Bombay Presidency.

Letters Nos. 135-139 ; September 28 to October 4, 1782.—Personal letters to friends mostly in England to help his cause. Malet thinks of making attempts to revive the Baronet's patent latent in his family since the time of Charles II.

Letters No. 140 ; December 3, 1782 to April 8, 1783.—These letters mainly deal with the Cambay affairs. When back in Cambay on November 25, 1782, Malet found the Nawab hostile and his own position very precarious ; the Nawab began to deal directly with the Governor at Bombay, and at the Nawab's instigation Malet and other men belonging to the residency at Cambay were being slighted and insulted. Fresh troubles arose about the confiscation of goods in some boats that ran ashore, and on the seizure of Mirza's property in Cambay by the Nawab. Malet failed to get Mirza reinstated as the Vazir in Cambay. 11 letters wholly useless, and the remaining ones too contain only a few facts and are full of repetitions. Malet was too much bothered with his own troubles and difficulties at Cambay, and was too much depressed by his disappointments to think of or to deal with other matters.

Letters Nos. 180-185 ; April 21 to May 15, 1783.—One letter useless. Malet first went to Broach and before May 15, he had gone down to Surat. He describes events in Cambay as reported to him, and along with the details of the situation in Broach discusses possible effects of some of the terms of the treaty concluded with the Marathas.

Letters Nos. 186-187 ; October 27, 1783.—Useless.

Letters Nos. 188-189 ; October 27 to November 8, 1783.—Malet still in Surat. He discusses the peace made with the Marathas and the French, and gives details of the war with Tipu. In letter No. 189, the distressing condition of the Bombay Presidency is described at length.

Letters Nos. 190-192 ; October 22 to December 16, 1783.—Cambay affairs. Having heard of the serious illness of the Nawab, Momin Khan, Malet left Surat on December 9, and reached Cambay on December 13th. Tense situation in Cambay.

Letters Nos. 193-194 ; December 17, 1783.—Useless.

Letters Nos. 195-202 ; January 1 to 26, 1784.—They refer mainly to Cambay affairs. Boddam having succeeded to the Governorship of Bombay, Malet hoped for

better support of his cause and pressed the new Governor to take up the question of the Mirza. The old Nawab, Momin Khan, died on January 22, 1784, and his son-in-law, Najim Khan, succeeded him as the Nawab. Malet hoped that the new Nawab would be more favourably disposed towards the Mirza, but all these hopes were falsified.

Letter No. 203; February 9, 1784.—Having been called to Bombay, Malet gave over charge on February 9, 1784, to Mr. Holford, his successor at Cambay and left the place next day. This is his last letter dealing with the Cambay affairs, and Malet gives the details of his last interview with the new Nawab on February 7.

Letter No. 204; March 13, 1794.—Malet in Bombay; some passing references to the siege of Bangalore and war with Tipu.

Letter No. 205; April 7, 1784.—Having arrived in Bombay on February 15, 1784, Malet was appointed the Persian Interpreter and one of the Private Secretaries to the Governor there, which gave Malet ample satisfaction.

Letter No. 206; March 26, 1784.—An important letter. Having been given charge of the Bombay mint department also, Malet submitted a summary report of that department for the last 17 years.

Letters Nos. 207-211; April 7 to May 24, 1783.—Two letters useless. Malet satisfied with his new job. He gives details about the war and peace with Tipu. Mr. Cockram succeeds Malet as Persian Interpreter to the Surat Board.

Administration of Justice in Bengal in the last decades of the 18th Century.

[By L. P. Dutt, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A. (Lond).]

The Government of Bengal possess the entire records relating to the administration of justice under the East India Company in Bengal up to the year 1834, when the designation of the Governor-General of Bengal was changed to that of Governor-General of India and Bengal "shrank to what was known as the Lower Provinces". A study of these records will reveal to a student of history how the Hindu and Muhammadan systems of Law were developed under early British rule in India, and to what extent the systems of law as now administered are those which were in vogue before the English established their supremacy in Bengal following their assumption of the Diwani in 1765. They will also show how far British Law has been superimposed on these systems, and whether for good or for evil. These records do not merely contain a narration of events in chronological order, but also demonstrate how various elements of law were called into being by the creators of British India to meet the demands that were made upon them by the complexities of a society which was composed of diverse races possessing different languages and cultures. The legislators of the 18th Century may have committed blunders in superimposing their own ideas and notions upon the systems of Hindu and Muhammadan law as they obtained then, and these records contain a promising field for research work in this connection.

A perusal of these records shows that Hindus and Muhammadans were, before the grant of the Diwani to the English, in enjoyment of their own laws relating to the acquisition of property. The Muhammadan Government had established only a

system of criminal law ; and the policy of the English legislators was to frame rules, ordinances and regulations that were not repugnant to the existing laws of the country (13 Geo. III. Ch. 63, Sec. 36-37).

The records and the literature on the subject, which are available in the archives of the Provincial Government, will explain how English law was administered in Mayor's Courts, Courts of Oyer and Terminer and the Quarter Sessions, and how the jurisdiction of these Courts existed side by side with the native courts. In the instructions to the Supervisors who were appointed in 1769, will be found a picture of the justice that was administered in the interior of Bengal. Accounts of the Company's servants' securing the arrest of Zamindars under orders of the Mayor's Court for realisation of money advanced to them, of trials of the Company's servants for having occupied themselves in pursuits not sanctioned by the Court of Directors, and of other similar incidents enliven these old records with a touch of romance, and reveal how the early creators of British India gradually built up a system of law which they thought was likely to promote the peace and happiness of a people alien to them by race, culture, and tradition.

A bare outline of the administration of justice as obtaining in Bengal in the latter half of the 18th Century is given below, omitting the incidents which had led to the establishment of the Supreme Court and its quarrels with the Government.

Up to the date of the fall of Calcutta in 1756, it appears that there were four Courts in the town, *viz.* :—

- (1) The Mayor's Court, created in 1727 by a Charter, which was renewed in 1753. It exercised jurisdiction over subjects of the British Crown, their dependants and those who by voluntary submission subjected themselves to its jurisdiction.
- (2) The Fauzdari Court, dealing with cases of a criminal nature among the Indian inhabitants.
- (3) The Court of (Adalat) Cutcherry, dealing with civil suits among the Indian inhabitants.
- (4) The Collectors' Cutcherry for the settlement of Revenue cases.

When the Diwani was granted to the East India Company, the arrangement appears to have been that the hearing of civil suits belonged of right to the power possessing the Diwani, and that the authority of the Nawab Nazim in the administration of Criminal Justice in cases where his own subjects were concerned remained entire. It might have been the duty of the Company's servants in the mufussil to cause disturbers of the peace to be apprehended and placed on trial, but the sentence (Fatwa) would be sent down to the locality by the Nawab's ministers at Murshidabad.

The first important changes in this system were introduced in 1772 by Warren Hastings, as President of the Committee of Circuit. The Committee recommended that in each district two Courts should be established, *viz.* :—

- (1) Mufussil Diwani Adalat or Provincial Court of Diwani, dealing with all disputes concerning property (real or personal), inheritance, marriage, caste, debt, contracts, demands of revenue, etc. Claims to Zamindaries were, however, to be dealt with by the President and Council. In this Court the Collector was to preside on the part of the Company as the Diwan and was to be assisted by a provincial Diwan nominated by the President and Council.

(2) Mufussil Fauzdari Adalat, exercising jurisdiction over all cases of murder, assaults, frays, quarrels, adultery and breach of the peace. Here the "Kazi" or Mufti of the district and two Maulvies should sit to expound the law, and determine how far the delinquents were guilty of a breach thereof; but the Collector would also make it his business to attend to the proceedings of this Court, to the extent of seeing that all the necessary witnesses were summoned and examined, that the decision passed was fair and impartial according to the proofs exhibited in the course of the trial, and that no cause was heard or determined but in open Court regularly assembled. This Court was empowered to inflict corporal punishment, labour on roads, etc., but where capital punishment was required, the confirmation of the sentence by the Nazim was necessary. The method of appointing the officers of the local Fauzdari Adalat was settled in July 1773. The Darogah of the Sudder Nizamat Adalat, the Kazi-ul-Kuzzat, and the Chief Mufti recommended persons for appointment, but the parwanas were not issued until they had received the sanction of the Governor and Council.

At the Presidency of Fort William, two superior Courts were to be established, *viz.* :—

1. Sadar Diwani Adalat, to receive and determine appeals from the Mufussil Diwani Adalats. The President and two Members of the Council, attended by the Diwan of the Khalsa and the head Kanungoes and other officers of the Cutcherry, would constitute the Court. In the absence of the President a third member of the Council was to replace him; that is to say, not less than three members of the Council were to decide an appeal. There was no bar to the whole Council, if they chose, sitting as the Sadar Diwani Adalat.
2. Sadar Nizamat Adalat—A chief officer of Justice, representing the Nazim, was to preside in the Sadar Nizamat Adalat with the title of the Daroga-Adalat, and was to be assisted by the Chief Kazi, the Chief Mufti and other capable Maulvies. Their duty would be to revise all proceedings of the Mufussil Fauzdari Adalats, and in capital cases by signifying their approbation or disapprobation with their reasons at large, to prepare sentences for the warrants of the Nazim, which were to be returned to the mufussil and then carried into execution. The proceedings of the Court were to be watched over by the President and Council, so that the Company's administration in the character of the King's Diwan was satisfied that justice was being done.

The effect of these regulations of the Committee of Circuit was not to institute new Courts of Justice, but to transfer the Courts of Appeal from Murshidabad to Calcutta, to vest in the Collector the right to preside in the local Civil Courts of his district, and to prevent miscarriage of justice in the local Criminal Courts. The right of the Nawab or Nazim to confirm or alter sentences of death was carefully preserved.

The records of these Courts are not available in the Bengal Historical Record Room, but a good deal of light as to the causes brought before them is to be found

in the records of the different Revenue authorities of the period and in the district records of the Collectors.

On the establishment of the Provincial Councils of Revenue in 1773, the Collectors were withdrawn, and the civil jurisdiction in the mufussil was transferred to these Provincial Councils. At Calcutta, fierce controversies between the Executive Government and the Judges of the Supreme Court led to the temporary suspension of the Sadar Diwani Adalat; and finally on the 11th April 1780, the Governor-General and Council promulgated a series of Regulations for the administration of justice. By these Regulations the jurisdiction of the Provincial Councils of Revenue in all cases which had an immediate relation to the public revenue were confirmed, but whereas in the past the members of the Provincial Councils sat in rotation to decide civil cases in the several district adalats, it was now decided :—

- (1) that there should continue to be Courts of Civil Judicature in each of the Grand Divisions of Calcutta, Murshidabad, Burdwan, Dacca, Purnea (Dinajpur) and Patna, and that over each of these Courts a Company's covenant servant should preside under the title of Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat; and
- (2) that this Superintendent was to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council, and that his jurisdiction was to be separate from and independent of the Provincial Councils.

The effect of these Regulations was not altogether satisfactory, for the Adalats came into conflict with the Provincial Councils. Accordingly, in his Minute dated the 29th September 1780, Hastings advocated the revival of the Sadar Diwani Adalat; and Sir Elijah Impey was subsequently appointed Chief Judge of this revived Court.

Meanwhile Philip Francis left India, and Hastings had no rival in the Council. On 20th February 1781 he dissolved the Provincial Councils of Revenue, and the Collectors were again revived and sent to the districts. In the same year it was arranged that in the districts of Chapra, Bhagalpur, Chittagong and Ramgarh the Collector was to be Collector and Judge. In the remaining districts the Judge was to be an official unconnected with the Revenue Administration.

Having reconstituted the Sadar Diwani Adalat and placed it under the control and management of Sir Elijah Impey, Warren Hastings was in a position to deal with the Fauzdari Adalats, which still in theory depended on the Naib Nazim at Murshidabad. Under the Regulation of August 21, 1772, the Collectors of Revenue had been charged with the duty to superintend the offices of the Fauzdari Courts, to see that the necessary witnesses were summoned and examined, that due weight was given to the evidence and that the decisions were impartially and fairly given. When the Murshidabad Controlling Council of Revenue was abolished, the Sadar Nizamat Adalat was brought to Calcutta and placed under the charge of a Darogah, subject to the control of the President and Council, who on behalf of the Nawab revised the sentences of the Criminal Court in capital cases. The establishment of the Supreme Court led to the suspension of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. For similar reasons probably, the Nizamat Adalat was sent back to the old capital on 18th October 1775 and placed under charge of Muhammad Riza Khan. The Naib

Nazim appointed officers denominated Fauzdars, assisted by persons versed in Muhammadan law, to superintend the Criminal Courts in the several districts and to apprehend and to bring to trial offenders against the public peace.

On April 6, 1781, Hastings formed a plan to supplement the Fauzdari Courts. These Courts were to continue their operations and to remain under the superintendence of the Naib Nazim, but the English Judges of the Diwani Courts were appointed Magistrates and invested with powers to apprehend persons charged with crimes and misdemeanours and to commit them to the nearest Fauzdari Court for trial, judgment being reserved to the Nizamat. These measures strengthened the hands of the English District Officers, and tended to secure the peace of the districts.

The Bengal Historical Record Room does not contain any records under the heading "Judicial" for the period of the administration of Warren Hastings, but some of the volumes of the proceedings of the Provincial Council of Revenue at Patna contain the proceedings of the Court of Appeal at Patna.

Warren Hastings at this stage also initiated the policy of having the Hindu and Muhammadan systems of jurisprudence translated and codified by the finest scholars available.

We observed before that Hastings appointed the English Judges of the Diwani Court as Magistrates with the power to apprehend criminals and hand them over to the nearest Fauzdari Courts for trial. This newly acquired power had, however, put them at a great disadvantage, for the Magistrates were unable to pronounce sentences. They were obliged to deliver prisoners under trial to the Darogahs or Superintendents of the Fauzdari Courts, and the delays in terminating trials became intolerable, the trial itself being a greater punishment than the sentence.

On 27th June 1787, it was accordingly decided under the regime of Lord Cornwallis, that the Magistrates were to be vested with authority to hear and decide complaints of petty offences, and to inflict corporal punishment and impose fines on offenders. This measure, however, proved insufficient.

In the famous consultation of the 3rd December 1790 (Revenue Department Judicial Branch, O. C. No. 33), the Governor-General in Council passed a series of Regulations, the principal effect of which was :—

- (i) to restore the Nizamat Adalat to Calcutta. In this Court the Governor-General and the members of the Supreme Council were to superintend the administration of Criminal Justice throughout the province, and
- (ii) to establish Courts of Circuit, under the superintendence of English Judges assisted by Indians versed in Muhammadan Law, for trying in the first instance persons charged with crimes or misdemeanours.

Accordingly four Courts of Circuit were established at Calcutta, Patna, Dacca, and Murshidabad as intermediate judiciaries between the Zillah Courts and the Sadar Nizamat Adalat at Calcutta. The rule was also introduced that Government itself was liable to be sued for exaction and infringement of the rights of land-holders, and that in such suits the Judges should be persons free from all obligations to enforce the financial claims of Government. In these Regulations the Collectors were, except in the cities of Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca, vested with powers of Magistrates, whose duties were clearly defined.

During this transition stage, the Governor-General had to open a separate series of consultations for judicial matters, which had been hitherto dealt with in the Revenue Department. The exact date on which this separate Branch, *viz.*, the Judicial Branch of the Revenue Department, was opened is not ascertainable ; but the extant proceedings of this authority date only from 6th August 1790.

The Judicial Branch of the Revenue Department continued till the end of April 1793, when, as a result of the reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis, a separate Judicial Department of the Supreme Council was established by a resolution, dated the 26th April 1793.. Two separate series of proceedings were opened, one for civil justice and another for criminal justice including police.

With the formation of the Judicial Department, Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit were established with effect from the 1st May 1793 ; and recognised Native pleaders were permitted to plead the causes of parties in suits instituted in the Zillah and City courts of the Diwani Adalat, the Provincial Courts of Appeal and the Sadar Diwani Adalat. These pleaders were to hold their appointments from the Governor-General in Council, and were not removable except for incapacity or misconduct proved to his satisfaction. One of these pleaders, who appeared to be the ablest, was to be appointed to prosecute and defend suits in which Government was a party and regulations were framed for the selection and appointment of pleaders generally.

The Police were at this time declared to be under the exclusive control of officers appointed by Government ; and land-holders and farmers were prohibited from keeping up their establishments of police and were exempted from responsibility for robberies committed within their jurisdictions, unless their connivance was proved. The existing police divisions were retained and they were each to be guarded, as before, by a darogah, who was directed to maintain a staff of police officers at the expense of Government, and to apprehend and send to the Magistrate all persons charged with crimes and misdemeanours and all vagrants. The Magistrates and Police officers of cities were invested with concurrent authority in their respective jurisdiction and in the Zillahs. The cities were divided into Wards, to be guarded by Darogahs who were to be under the immediate inspection of and subject to the authority of the Kotwals of each city.

The above is a bare outline and is intended for those who desire to work on these records of the period. A detailed account relating to these records is being included in the Handbook to the Records of the Government of Bengal, 1758-1858, which is under compilation.

The English Monopoly in Indian Spices

(By Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., F.S.S., F.R.E.S.)

An attempt is made here to throw light on one aspect of British trade in India. Our history books make no mention of the English monopoly of Indian spices secured by the end of the 18th century. For fifty years this monopoly was developed by securing exclusive rights of purchase and sale of pepper from the princes of the Malabar, so that in the beginning of the 19th century both Indian and European merchants were excluded from purchasing pepper in the territories of the western coast of India. This control was tightened and extended by the extension of the

subsidiary system whereby the Indian rulers stipulated not to allow any Europeans to settle in their territories. The share of Europeans in the coastal and foreign trade was further curtailed by prohibitory laws made by the British in India.

These conclusions are mainly derived from documents available in the India Office Records, London.

“ Pepper and spices had first attracted the English Company to the trade of India ; and it is curious to observe how from this, as from a root, the rest of their commercial operations ramified ”.

The English in the East for spices—The beginning of the Indo-British trade is to be traced to the stoppage of the supplies of Indian spices and other goods from Lisbon after the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The Dutch as successors to the Portuguese in the Oriental commerce rapidly engrossed a large part of the spice trade. They raised the price of pepper from three to six and eight shillings per pound though the cost in the East was about two pence.

A view of the extraordinary profit can be had from Mr. Mun’s estimate of the amounts of Indian goods consumed in christendom in the beginning of the 17th century. He also gives the sale and purchase prices of the same.

By way of Aleppo. lbs.	Sale price to the Co.			Cost in India.	
			£		£
6,000,000 Pepper at	2s.	600,000	2½d.	62,500
450,000 Cloves at	4/9	106,875	9d.	16,875
150,000 Mace at	4/9	35,625	8d.	5,000
400,000 Nutmegs at	2/4	46,666	4d.	6,666
350,000 Indigo at	4/4	75,834	1/2	20,417
1,000,000 Raw Silk at	12/	600,000	8/	400,000
			1,465,000		511,458

To break this monopoly the English East India Company¹ attempted to have a share in that trade and hence came into conflict with the Dutch. By the favour of the native princes the English were successful in procuring valuable cargoes of pepper and other spices like cloves, nutmegs, mace and cinnamon at various towns of the Spice Islands.

England’s gain from Oriental trade in 1620—At the end of the second decade, the Company’s trade is mirrored in the quantities of their various imports with their average prices in India and England as stated in their document entitled. “ The Reasons to Prove that the E. I. trade is a means to bring Treasure into this Kingdom ”.

Quantities imported. lbs.			Prices in the Indies.	Prices in England.
2,500,000 Pepper ..	..	..	.. 2d. (Mun = 2½d.)	20d.
150,000 Cloves ..	..	..	.. 9d.	.. 6d.
150,000 Nutmegs ..	..	..	.. 3d. (Mun = 4d.)	6s. 6d.
50,000 Maces ..	..	..	.. 8d.	.. 6s.
200,000 Indigo ..	..	..	.. 13d. (Mun = 13d.)	5s.
107,140 China raw silk ..	..	..	.. 7s.	.. 20s.
50,000 Pieces Calicoes ..	..	..	.. 7s.	.. 20s.

¹ E. I. Company by Robert Grant, p. 15, Edi. 1813.

The total prime cost being about £100,000 against £494,223 estimated to be realised at the Company's sales in England, it was rightly asserted that the sum of £394,223 was annually advanced towards the general stock of the Kingdom, and that England saved £70,000 or more per year in the price only of spices and indigo by buying them from the E. I. Company¹.

The Dutch grew jealous of the increasing share of their rivals in the spice trade, and though mutual disputes had been settled by a solemn treaty in 1619, the English at Bantore and Pularoon were suddenly attacked by the Dutch, and then plundered, stripped naked, bound, beaten, and dragged through the streets in chains. This savage treatment was followed at Amboyna by worse tortures and massacres. These barbarities, remaining unrevenged, very well served their purpose in keeping the English away from the Spice Islands, so that the latter preserved to themselves the spice trade of the Indian Archipelago. In fact, they remained its sole masters for about two hundred years.

European rivalry for Malabar spices—The English had only one settlement at Bancoolen which, but for a short interval in 1719, remained the principal centre of the Company's trade in Sumatra up to the 19th century. However, these early reverses ultimately proved beneficial to the English, for after being driven out of the Spice Islands, they made special efforts for the development of the Indo-European trade.

The Dutch secured monopolies of production, purchase and sale of spices and many other goods in the islands and districts under their suzerainty and sovereignty. All Asiatic and European nations were shut out from all places under the Dutch domination. A full view of these monopolies can be had in my *Commercial Relations between England and India*, pp. 165-168.

According to Stavorinus the profits of the Dutch upon finer spices were 520% during 1663 to 1674, they rose to 850% during 1689—1698, and even to 2,400% in the year 1731-32.

The English followed in the footsteps of the Dutch and attempted to secure similar monopolies on the Malabar coast. Thereupon these endeavours in securing a share of the Malabar spice trade were also thwarted by the Dutch, so much so that the latter had almost succeeded in driving their English competitors quite off the coast. The memorial of the Directors to the House of Lords submitted in 1720 had some interesting evidence on the point—

“ The method there hath been by the Dutch assisting the King of Cochin against the Samorine, though Cochin is but a tributary province to him. The Samorine's country hath been ravaged, his forces bribed to desert him. Terms of peace offered him on condition he would turn the English out of his country. The Dutch ships have fired their cannon-balls upon the English Factory at Calicut. They have seized Mr. Addams, the English Chief's vessels and cargo. They have by force dispossess the English of their settlement at Chittoa, though it is in the Samorine's dominions and was granted by him² ”.

¹ Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 39. D. 56.

² MSS. Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 5, p. 256, Letter 15th September 1720.

The Company consequently pleaded that attempts be made to recover Bantam and "to prevent the Dutch from engrossing the whole pepper trade as they had that of the other spices and which would soon prove more advantageous to them and more prejudicial to Great Britain than all the rest of them¹".

Again, the French were no less active in securing a share in the same spice-trade. We read an interesting account of their active rivalry in a memorial of the English Company to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State against the French who had forced a settlement to be made at Mahie—a place contiguous to Tellicherry which was an English settlement on that coast, for trading in pepper and other spices, although the English had long enjoyed a right by grants from the sovereign and princes of the country to the sole trade of pepper growing in or coming to the places round about Tellicherry to the river Mahie. The French had, it was represented, taken some of the ships of the Company as well as of the English merchants, treated them ignominiously and seized their goods. Redress was consequently demanded for past injuries and insults².

The English secure monopoly in spices—With the growth of the naval power of the English Company, attempts were made to secure from the Indian States the exclusive right to buy pepper, cardamoms, and sandal-wood in their districts, so that the European and other nations were gradually deprived of the liberty of supplying themselves with spices from those territories. A view of the growth of the English monopoly of the spice trade concurrently with the naval and political power of the Company in India can be had from the following facts :

1. The Company was successful in obtaining a grant from the ruler of Cotiote in Malabar on 31st July 1748 of the sole privilege of exporting pepper and cardamoms to the exclusion of every European nation³.

2. In some places the English secured reduction in customs duties. For instance, a reduction of more than six rupees per candy in customs was allowed along with the right of exclusive purchase by the Raja of Bhringah in 1758 (I and II Articles)⁴.

Next year the obligation of paying customs to the ruler of Cotiote was commuted into a single annual payment of only twelve hundred Fanams or Rs. 2,400 (Article IV)⁵.

3. The sole right of purchase to the exclusion of the Dutch or any one else was secured from the Rulers of Sundah, Cartonuddu and Colastria in 1760 and 1761⁶.

4. The ruler of Colastria accepted a single payment for customs, and further consented to the Company's placing its own people, both by land and sea, in any part it might judge proper to frustrate the purchase and transport of pepper by any one else than the Company⁷.

5. *Treaties with Hyder and Tipu*—When in 1762 General Hyder Ali, taking advantage of the dissensions raging in the royal family of Bednore, dethroned the

¹ MSS. Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 5, p. 256, Letter 15th September 1720.

² MSS. Home Miscellaneous Vol. 6, pp. 253-6, Despatch 19th January 1725.

³ Aitchison's, Treaties of the E. I. Co., Vol. 5, p. 352.

⁴ Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. 4, p. 12, Tellicherry Districts, Home Misc. Vol. 440, p. 145.

⁵ Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. 4, p. 28. 5 Fanams = 1 Rupee = 2s. 6d. in Calicut.

⁶ Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. 5, pp. 30, 363.

⁷ Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. 5, p. 349.

lawful heirs and added that principality and even part of Sundah to Mysore, the English to secure the continuance of their monopoly approached the victor for the confirmation of their rights. We learn from Milburn that this territory annually produced from fifteen to twenty thousand candies of 640 lbs. of pepper. Of this about one-third was taken off by Indian markets, and the remainder was exported to Europe. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i, p. 287).

The rights conferred and confirmed by Hyder Ali in 1763 were couched in these words :—

“ The English have the sole liberty granted them of purchasing all the pepper produced between Mirjee and Batcote, both these places included ; nor shall any European, or other nation besides them, have leave to purchase pepper within these districts. The price shall be adjusted every year, between the Resident and four principal merchants of Onore (Honaver) ”, the capital.

The Malabar country was split up into small principalities, each governed by an independent Raja. The mutually jealous rulers of Coorg, Cheroka, Cotiote, Cartend, Calicut and Cochin, were quarrelling with each other. Hyder was not slow to profit by their dissensions. He continued to overrun their territories for several years, each time exacting tribute from them, and finally conquered them all by 1765.

6. Hyder, who became Subah of Mysore and Suzerain of the Malabar chiefs by 1766, confirmed and ratified the privileges formerly granted to the Company by the several Malabar chiefs for the sole purchase and export of the produce of his dominions, particularly pepper, sandalwood and cardamoms, from the Malabar frontier to the Samorine’s dominions and even in those territories where his arms might in future prove victorious.

7. It should be noticed that a monopoly was not granted for spices alone but for the whole external trade of the dominion under Hyder Ali. This was in the year 1766, when Hyder Ali had nothing to fear from the English. These rights were granted by that future scourge of the Karnatak and the inveterate enemy of the English to buy their neutrality in his ambitious projects. For a time, they allowed him free scope in his conquering career, but soon realized that he would prove to be a menace to them.

The allied armies of the Nizam and Hyder entered the Karnatak in September 1767, and began to lay waste that rich and prosperous territory. Thus hostilities began between Hyder and the English. After many turns of fortune a treaty was ratified in 1770 wherein it was stipulated that Hyder Ali should oblige the Raja of Bilguey to give over all the pepper produced in his country to the Honourable Company at the same price as they paid at Onore (Article II).

Secondly, the English obtained a confirmation of their sole and exclusive right to purchase all the pepper and sandalwood produced in Hyder’s dominions—the price to be paid in the shape of British exports, as guns, muskets, salt, saltpetre, lead and gunpowder and the balance to be made good in ready money (Article III).

The grant of these important concessions originated from the motive of purchasing the friendship of the English and of preventing their alliance with the Marathas who were now and then over-running his country and demanding very heavy tributes from him.

8. The same policy of controlling the spice trade is visible in all the subsequent treaties on the Malabar side. Persuasion or force was, as occasion demanded, used in controlling all the available supplies of pepper in those extensive districts. After a successful war with the Queen of Cannanore in 1784, the concession of the first offer of all the pepper in her country to the Honourable Company was incorporated in the treaty concluded with her¹.

9. Eight years after, the Company was fortunate in routing the forces of Sultan Tipu and in annexing or bringing under their protection large districts of the Sultan's territory. Agreements were made with the Rajas of Cherical, Cotiote, Vellatre, Cartinaad and Calicut, wherein clauses for the complete control and sole purchase of pepper at low prices were incorporated. For instance, the Rajas of the first three countries agreed to collect the whole of the pepper in their territories and deliver it to the Company's servants at fixed prices and at stated places, so that no other merchants, either native or foreign, but the Company's agents could purchase that article from those territories, because they were treaty-bound to store up all the supplies for their English Suzerain. In Calicut and Vellatre the Government was to appoint its own agents for purchasing all the supplies of pepper in those territories, while all other merchants -native as well as foreign -were excluded from buying that article. The consequences of such an exclusive monopoly are quite evident. Political conquest was instrumental in placing the pepper monopoly in the hands of the English and in excluding their rivals—the Dutch and the French—from a share in it. The Company's agents used to purchase that article at whatever prices they chose to offer, as there was no other buyer, and sold it at whatever prices they fancied it would be taken off their hands. The pepper merchants were ruined, the cultivators were forced to accept very low prices, the people suffered by paying exorbitant prices for an article of necessity. They were prohibited from buying pepper direct from the producers or their own merchants, but were obliged to purchase it from the foreign monopolists. But the English could plead that they had obtained legal rights of exclusive purchase and sale from the native princes themselves, and therefore the latter were to be blamed for sacrificing the interests of their people.

Perpetual monopoly from Travancore ruler—The small town of Anjengo situated in the territory of the Raja of Travancore was granted to the Company by the Queen of Atinga in 1694. Ever since this year, the share of the English in the pepper trade began to increase. The rulers of Travancore being afraid of the neighbouring princes, sought help from the English and were therefore ready to concede to them advantageous trading privileges. The princes remained faithful allies of the English, and several times afforded them military assistance in their struggles against the French and Hyder Ali from 1762 to 1782.

In the year 1793, an agreement was entered into with the Raja of Travancore, according to which he was to supply for nine years from April 10th, 1793 to the 10th of April 1804, three thousand candies (each 560 pounds weight) of clean pepper at Rs. 115 per candy, though the price that year was as high as 220 rupees a candy. Again, the price for the major portion of the said actual contract was to be paid in English goods, like arms, lead, broad-cloth, etc. Two years after, another treaty of perpetual alliance, friendship and subsidy was concluded between the Company

¹ Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. 5, p. 394.

and the reigning Raja, by which, in consideration of the payment of the expenses of a subsidiary force for the protection of the prince, the Pepper Contract was made perpetual, liable however, after the expiration of the period of the first contract, to such modifications as to price, period, or quantity as might, from time to time, be agreed upon between the parties.

The Pepper War—The Rajah faithfully continued to fulfil his part of the contract, but in 1808, a requisition was made from the Rajah that the future payment of the subsidy should be made in money instead of pepper. This proposal, which was to ruin his subjects by still more lowering the price of pepper, exasperated the Rajah. The strained relations led to a war in which Travancore was overrun by the British forces, and the prince was soon obliged to accept the terms dictated by the victors¹.

Exclusion of other Europeans from trade—We will now very briefly give evidence of the treaties made with the Indian Princes for the total exclusion of other Europeans from the coastal and internal trade of India and for reduction of their share in the maritime trade in the East in general and with India in particular.

By a treaty conducted on 12th October 1756, the Marathas agreed never to permit the Dutch to settle or come into their dominions, but on the contrary to issue express orders to prevent their carrying on any trade therein (Article 1)².

One year after the battle of Plassey, the English in Bengal reported to their Directors in London that “ we are now wholly without rivals; the French are entirely expelled and the Dutch will be altogether at our mercy. We shall be able to shut all the channels of their trade ”.³

In 1778 Raghaba entered into a treaty with the English and stipulated that “ no European settlements would be allowed to be made on the maritime coasts, or in any other part of the Maratha dominions, without the consent of the Company or of their representatives being previously obtained ; and that no manner of intercourse or connection would be maintained between the Maratha Government and the French Nation ”.

In 1787 Lord Cornwallis desired the Nabob of Oudh not to allow any European to reside in his dominions without his written permission. The Nabob willingly conceded to this demand.

The subsidiary system—Article 6th of the treaty of 1797 with the Raja of Travancore fully illustrates the commercial and political policy of the English at the end of the 18th century. It was stipulated that the reigning Rajah of Travancore should not keep in his service, in any civil or military capacity, nor allow to remain within his dominions, as merchants or under any other plea or pretext, the subjects or citizens of any nation being at war with Great Britain or with the East India Company ; nor, under any circumstances of peace or war, allow any European nation to obtain settlements (*i.e.*, territory or places under their own authority) within the same, nor enter into any new engagements with any European or Indian State, without the previous concurrence of the British Government in India. This is the subsidiary system *par excelsis*. It was rapidly extended within the next twenty

¹ Home Misc., Vol. 433, contains papers on the British connection with Travancore.

² Selections from the State Papers Bombay, Mahratta Series, Vol. I, p. 117.

³ General Letters, 31st December 1758.

years. Numerous treaties of the same tenor were entered into with the rulers of Indian States and thus their European rivals were completely ousted by the English from the political, industrial and commercial spheres of this country¹.

Other Europeans prohibited from establishing settlements—Finally, the English supremacy in the foreign and coastal trade of India is pictured in Regulation X of 1813 :—

All foreign nations whether or not they had any settlements or establishments in the East Indies if they were in amity with His Majesty, the King of England, could freely enter the British sea-ports and harbours in the East Indies and had liberty of trade in imports and exports subject to the following principal restrictions imposed by the Regulations :

- (1) They were to proceed from their own ports direct to the British territories, without touching at any port or place whatever in the voyage out.
- (2) They were not to carry any of the articles exported by them from the said British territories to any places other than those of their respective countries. They were also to give bonds, with securities of their respective Residents that they would deliver cargo at the ports for which clearances were made.
- (3) They were not to engage in the coasting trade of India.
- (4) They were not allowed to proceed to the settlements or factories of any foreign European nation in the East Indies or to the territories of any Indian or Chinese potentate or power.

Thus with the growth of their political power the English were successful in—

- (1) securing spice-monopoly in the Malabar Kingdoms ;
- (2) prohibiting the settlement of the Europeans in all parts directly or indirectly under the English ;
- (3) ousting all European nations from the internal and coastal trade of India ; and
- (4) finally, in curtailing their maritime trade by such regulations as those of 1813.

The English were not only political masters of India, but the controllers of its commerce also. They utilized this power to secure the monopoly of the spice trade in India and to possess the largest share first in the coastal and internal trades and then in the external trade of the country.

Two Negapatam grants from the Batavia Museum.

(By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.).

The two grants that form the subject of this note were first noticed by Burnell in his *Elements of South Indian Palaeography* in 1878². By the courtesy of the authorities of the Batavia Museum I was enabled to get photographic copies of these

records which are of great historical and linguistic interest. They are both engraved on silver plates in modern characters, one in Telugu and the other in Tamil. They are both remarkable for the free and popular speech of business-men in which they are composed ; unlike the numerous Indian grants of an earlier time usually conveyed on copper plates, these aim at no literary grace whatever. The Telugu grant abounds in the doublets (like-kavulu kattallu, adasala murasala and so on) which facilitate speech but convey no particular meaning, and the Tamil contains many errors of grammar and orthography ; and both borrow and employ European terms freely, e.g., company, captain, factory, admiral and so on.

In sending me the photographs, the Secretary of the Royal Batavian Society wrote : "The dimensions of the plates are : The plate with semi-circular top (Tamil grant) 571 × 328 mm. The rectangular plate—without the top piece, height 420 mm. ; with top-piece, height 479 mm. ; breadth 241 mm. The material has never been analysed, but makes in every respect the impression of silver."

There are Dutch versions of both these grants preserved among the Records of the Dutch East India Company and these versions are very useful in elucidating some obscure expressions in the Telugu and Tamil documents. In this connection a word of grateful appreciation is due to Prof. Heeres for his wise decision to publish all documents calculated to elucidate the history of the Dutch East India Company and to consider the records not only as title deeds of the Dutch in the East at present, but as mile-stones in the development of the colonial power of Holland¹; for while only a few of the documents under publication are of any current value, most of them are of undying interest to the historian. Only one volume of Heeres' *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum* had appeared in 1907, before the publication of Vol. V of the *Cambridge History of India* in 1929. Three more parts of the Corpus have since appeared in 1931, 1934 and 1935. The third and fourth parts are edited by Dr. F. W. Stapel, and come up to 1725 A.D. All the volumes are issued in the *Bijdragen Tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*. Our Telugu grant of 1658 is No. CCXXXIII of the Corpus while the Tamil one of 1676 figures as No. CCCLXXVIII in that collection.

It may be noted particularly that our Telugu grant which begins the series of grants to the Dutch relating to Negapatam states that they were to have the same rights and privileges as the Portuguese before them. And the Tamil grant of eighteen years later likewise carries unmistakable traces of the happenings in the intervening period—viz., the further grants of Vijayarāghava Nayak of Tanjore and the conquest of Tanjore by the Nayak of Madura which preceded Ekōji's occupation of the principality on behalf of the Sultan of Bijapur.

The historical background against which the documents are to be read may be briefly stated as follows.

The year 1658 marked a turning point in the struggle between the Dutch and the Portuguese in Southern India. In the month of June, the fortified city of Jaffnapatam on a small island to the north of Ceylon was taken from the Portu-

¹ Corpus i, pp. xviii-xix and iii p. xvi.

guese by the Dutch Admiral Rijkloff Van Goens¹, and exactly a month later Negapatam also fell into his hands without a shot being fired by him². The Nayak of Tanjore, Vijaya Rāghava, in whose lands Negapatam lay, was, for some reason, dissatisfied with the Dutch, and hence at first disinclined to listen to the friendly overtures made by them when they came to besiege the city for the first time ; but according to the Dutch writers, the Nayak was quickly brought to reason after a considerable part of his people had been put to the sword by the Dutch forces.³ The Nayak entered into an agreement with Cinnanna Setti alias Mallaiya, a cloth contractor of Pulicat, who was sent to represent the Dutch on this occasion, offering valuable trade concessions to the Dutch company and promising to engrave the terms then agreed upon on a silver plate charter which would be binding on himself and his successors ; this was on the 15th September 1658.⁴ The silver plate grant issued in pursuance of this agreement constitutes the first of our grants.

This grant is renewed again in 1661-2 by Vijaya Rāghava and on that occasion the Dutch gained the additional privilege of setting up a mint for the coinage of gold, silver and copper, subject to the condition that the net proceeds of the mint were to be shared equally between the Company and the Nayak.⁵ By another treaty made three years later, the Dutch Company got from Vijaya Rāghava a lease for three years of the town of Tirumalairajapatiṇam (to the north of Negapatam) in order to be able to deal better with the dyers in the employment of the Company and to be free from the molestation of the Nayak's officials.⁶

In 1673 Chokkanātha Nayak of Madura invaded Tanjore and Vijaya Rāghava lost his life in battle according to Indian tradition, though Francois Martin says that he fell a passive victim to the invader.⁷ Chokkanātha is generally said to have appointed Alagiri Nayak as his viceroy over the newlyconquered territory. He soon quarrelled with his chief and lost his principality to a fresh invader from the north, Ekoji, acting under orders from Bijapur and on behalf of an illegitimate scion of the line of Vijaya Rāghava ; this was in 1675.

In the short period of the suzerainty of Madura over Tanjore (1674-5), the Dutch Company, still represented by Rijklof Van Goens, had its old privileges confirmed by Kāvēti Nayak, governor of the Tanjore dependency under Chokkanātha⁸. This apparently did not happen till after a struggle in which the Dutch did not get the best of it, and had to agree to pay a tribute as before ; such at least is the testimony of the Frenchman Lespinay who was in South India at the time⁹. This deed of confirmation is dated 13th September 1674, and clauses 4, 5 and 7 of our second grant (Ekoji's) to the Dutch Company are virtual reproductions of the clauses of this agreement. It must be noted that Van Goens, Governor of Ceylon, mentioned in the grant of Ekoji, was the son of Rijklof Van Goens who took Jaffna in 1658.

I give below the Indian texts and translation in English of the two grants.

¹ Heeres—Stapel, Corpus ii. p. 117. cf. CHI v. p. 48.

² ib. p. 123.

³ Heeres—Stapel, Copus ii. p. 127.

⁴ ib. pp. 127-8.

⁵ Heeres CCL.

⁶ Heeres CCCV.

⁷ Mémoires i. p. 603, cf. R. Satyanatha Aiyar, Nayaks of Madura pp. 163-5. Lespinay confirms the Indian tradition of the manner of Vijaya Rāghava's death, Mémoires p. 135.

⁸ Heeres CCCLIII.

⁹ Lespinay, Mémoires de Bellanger de—pp. 135-6.

TEXT OF THE GRANT.

Svāmi Sākṣi

Tappēdi lēdu

Śrī Rāma

1. Viļam̄bi saṁvatsara Mārggāśira Su. 15 lu Śrimatu Accuta Śrī
2. Vijayarāghava Nāyanayyavāru Volanda Rikulā.
3. ppaiṅgguṣu amarālkū yiccina kaulu naṁmīmike sāsanam [/*] ¹
4. Tama kum̄ppinayya varttaka pravarttakam Nāgapatñam rēvunana-
5. dīpiṁccukonemaninni amdduku kauvulu kattallu kattada sā-
6. yavalenani Cinnanna Ŝetti vāru mātō cālā manivi rūpam-
7. ggā vinnapam sēsukonnaru gāṁbatṭi ā ritunnē tāmu Nāga-
8. paṁnānaku vacci varttaka pravarttakam nađipinīccukonēdi [/*] tamaku
9. Paramggivāri vasānavunna kōṭānu kattada sēsi vāri yimḍlu
10. muṁggilunnu kattad sēsināram [/*] yidigāka paramggivāri
11. kapitānikinni vāir palli gullakunnu tōṁta paramggikinni nađa-
12. cina ggrāmālu Puttūru ggrāmām¹ Muṭṭam grāmām¹ Pōru-
13. valcēri grāmām¹ Aṁtt-onipeṁta grāmām¹ Karuvēppam-
14. gađe grāmām¹ Alimjjila maṁggalam grāmām¹ Samggamam-
15. ggalam ggramam¹ Niruttina maṁggalam grāmām¹ Mamjjakolle ggrā-
16. mām¹ Nariyamggudi ggrāmām¹ aṁttu ggrāmālu 10 [/*]
17. yī padi ggrāmālunnu tamaku kattada sēsināramganaka āgrāmā-
18. lu yeriṇti perimttakane putṭastiki nagarki tāmu yeriṇti perita kānuka
19. yicukarāgalavāru [/*] yidigāka tāmu Nāgapatñam revuna ye-
20. kkiṁcē saruku sappaṭlu kōṁka-dākalu devasa dhānnyādulkunnu dimce
21. saruku sappaṭlakunnu yegumati digumati tiruva sarvvamānya-
22. mggā kattada sēsināraṇ [/*] tama kumpani voḍalku adāsala murisala lē-
23. kumddā tamadigāne kattada sēsināraṇ [/*] tama varttakulēmi manus-yama-
24. ṭralēmi niluvasaluvalu soṇmmu saṁmmaṁdhālu yettukoni
25. nagari ggrāmāmtrāla pārivacci vunnatṭāyanā vārninni vāri so-
26. māmmunnu tamake voppagimccagalavāraṇ [/*] mā śimalō tāmu
27. varttaka pravarttakam tamaku saripoyina dārini nađipimccukone—
28. tamddullo nagaricillarallu nađapakumddānunnu kattada sēsināraṇ [/*] ta-
29. maku yiccina paramggivāri ggrāmālo vumē kāmpulapaṭlanēmi
30. Nāgapatñāna tama varttakulai vumdde vāri paṭlanēmi nagaṛanumddi-

¹ These stops at the end of sentences are not in the original.

31. nni cillarallu nađavakumđđanunnu tama manuṣyulu nálgū dikkula-
32. kunnu kañmagāllu komcca pöyyevārni sumkka süttrālu lē-
33. kanunnu kattāda sésināram [/*] yī prakāram kauvulu kattāda sésināra-
34. m [/*] ganaka yī baddhati namttā puttra pauttrapārampariyamggā nadī—
35. cetattu kattāda sésināram [*]ganaka yimdduku lēsamaiyinā tappa—
36. ka tama patla nadipimccuka vaccemani Cinnanna śetti vār ki nammmika
37. mām̄tāpatlunnu yiccināram [/*] atu ganaka tamunnu nagari pa-
38. tla hita visvāsañ kaligi karatōralunnu rujuvu ayyetattu-
39. gā nadipimccukoni yī kauvulku nariñmi ācandrārkka sthāyi-
40. gā varttaka pravarttakam nadipimccukoni sukhāna vumđđēdi
41. Śri Vijayarāghava.

TRANSLATION

God be our witness

There will be no evasion of this agreement.

Prosperous Rāma,

The deed of agreement and assurance given to the Dutch Admiral¹, Riku-läppangusu (Rijklof Van Goens) by Śrimat Accuta Śri Vijayarāghava Nāyanayya² vāru, on su 15 Mārgasira of the year Vilāmbī.

Mr. Cinnanna śetti, had earnestly submitted to us by means of petitions that your company was desirous of carrying on trade operations in the port of Nāgapatnam and that for that purpose we should grant you an ordinance of agreement laying down rules and regulations. Therefore, as desired by him, you are permitted to come to Nāgapatnam and carry on trade. We have commanded that the fort, the houses and the yards that were in the possession of the Portuguese, should be handed over to you ; further we have assigned to you the total (number of) ten villages, viz., 1. Puttūr, 1 Muttam, 1 Poruvalacēri, 1 Antonipet, 1 Karuvēppangade, 1 Alinjji-lamaingalam, 1 Saingamaingalam, 1 Niruttamaingalam, 1 Mañjakolle, and 1 Nariyangudi which were (formerly) in the enjoyment of the Portuguese captain, and of their church as well as their gardens. So, you should pay to the state an annual tribute as the tax due thereon every year. Besides, we have decreed that the commodities, cloth, and corn exported from, and the commodities imported into the port of Nāgapatnam, should be free from all export and import duties. We have also ordained that the (stranded) ships belonging to your company should be your own without being liable to the state's right of wreckage. If the merchants or other men belonging to your company having appropriated the (cash) balances and (other) properties (of the company) should take shelter in the villages of (our) state, we undertake to hand them over to you together with their property. We have also commanded that you should be exempted from the payment of minor duties, while carrying on trade in our country in a manner acceptable to you. We have also arranged that no minor duties should be collected either from the ryots

¹ The text has amaaū ; cf. Fr. Amiral.

² Nyani + eyya

of the Portuguese villages made over to you or from your merchants residing at Nágapatnam ; nor tolls collected from your men who go out with (your) passes in different directions. Since we have issued an ordinance of agreement in these terms, we have pledged our faith to Mr. Cinnanna setti that we shall regulate our relations for all time (lit. for our sons, grandsons, etc.) with you without the slightest infringement (of these concessions). In these circumstances, you are also required to entertain feelings of friendship and loyalty to our state and carry on trade operations in happiness as long as the Moon and the Sun last, remitting the taxes due to our state, and placing faith in this deed of agreement. Śri Vijayarāghava.

TEXT OF EKOJI'S GRANT.

1. 1676 āṇḍu Naḷa varuśam¹ Mārgaḷi māsam² 30th Viśāpuram sāyipu
2. pāttasā avargaḷ kāriyattukku kaṭtarumāyi sēnāpatiyum āgiya Tañjāyur śirmai
3. ādinattukku vandirukkira śrī (ma) tu rājattiri Ekōji maharāsā avargaḷ oru piṇḍum ulandā uttama kumbiñi-
4. vin pērāl Indiya-venra malaṅgaraikku śinna śennarālumāy usur-
5. ttuṇai-ttalavanum-āyilaṅgaikkum sōlaṁḍalakkarai sālakkaraikkum Maduraikkum kaḍalukkum karaikkum kuvara-
6. ḡadōrum-āgiya śiññor amarel maharāsa Rikkoloppu vangūñsu avargaḷ idamāga Nāgapattanam pe-
7. riya karpittār śiññor Pitturuvervar avargaļum śinnakkarippittār śiññor Tomāsu vanderō
8. avargaḷ mudalāna usūrttupait-talavamār oru piṇḍum vārttaippādu mugittu samarpagam paṇṇikkonḍa va...
9. gaikku³ viparam [/*]₄ mudalāvadu uttama kumbinikkum Ekōsi maharāsā avargaļukkum uṇḍāna pagaiyum paḍaipum murivum
10. tavrindu inru mudal eṇṇeṇṇaikkum muriyāda oru urudiyāna uravu onṛupat̄tu sinēgam naḍandu ko-
11. llugiradu [/*] indak-kondirāktu tuḍaṅgina mudal iruvagaiyilum aḍandi-rukkiṇa maṇusar indak-kavilp-pira-
12. gāram tudanu varugira sāttappadikku palan kiḍaittu naḍandu kollu-giradu [/*] kilakkuttikkil Indiyak-karai ulandā
13. uttama kumbinivukku iṇaṅga Ekōsi maharāsā avargaḷ sammadittu Viśai-yāpurattu sāyapu pātti-
14. sā avargaḷ pērāl vittu naḍappikkiradu [/*] Iraṇḍāvadu mundina kāriyam uttama kumbinivukku kiḍaikkum va-
15. ttakap-palan Tañjāvūrc-cimaiyilē ellām oru vikkinamum anriyē suya-māga uttama kumbinivin paṇivi-
16. daikāraruṁ vattakarum konḍu poy vikkira śarakkugalukkum marupadi konḍuvarugira sarakkugalukkel-

¹ and ² expressed by symbols.

³ The ai symbol is at the end of line 8

⁴ Except in a few cases these stops are introduced by me, though not found in the original.

17. läm araittiruvai kuđukkiradu [/*] indappađikku Viśaiyāpurattu sāyavu pāttisā avargaļ kāriyattukku ka (t*) tarā-
18. na mullā avargaļum inda patti nađappivittārgaļ [/*] atte ppiragu kālam kūđippōna Tañjāvūr Viśaiyarā-
19. gava nāyakkar avargaļum 1661 āñđulēyūn sammadittu oru vellipattai-yāmum eludi ta-
20. ndu appađiyē nađappittu vandārgaļ [/*] andaccuyamāna vattagamum araittirvaikkum Ekōsi mahar-
21. āśā avargaļ ulpađtu inda oppandakkavilnālē sammadittu avargaļ nittamum viđtu mānnimaiy-
22. āga nadappittāppolē uttama kumbinivukku nadappikkiradu [/*] iduvum uttama kumbini vattagarukku Tañjāvūruda-
23. nē sēnda sīmaiylē ellām uttama kumbini idamāga irukkira kavilile eludi irukkira pađikku
24. andappađiyē Ekōsi maharāsā avargaļum kalangamaļa indakkavilp-piragārappadikku puduppiccu urudiyākki
25. Ekōsi maharāsā avargaļ sammadittu uttama kumbinivukku kattaļai-yittāppolē nađappikkiradu [// *]
26. mūnāvadu uttama kumbinivukku nađanda paļaiya kiřamām pattum andappađiyē uttama kumbinivukku nađakkiradu [/*] i-
27. duvanril Nāgapat̄tañattukköt̄taikkut-tenpiramāyirukkira Poyyūrttōttā-mum pudiya Veļikkopura-
28. ttukku mēlpiramāy irukkira tōttamum Tañjāvūr Viśaiya¹ Rāghava-nāyakkar avargaļ tanda kavilile eludi irukkira-
29. ppolē appađiyē Ekōsi maharāsā avargaļum sammadittu Uttma kumbini-vukku nađappikkiradu [/*] paļaiya ki-
30. rāmam pattukkum varussam onrukku pon āyirattu irunūru uttama kumbiniyil kuđuttu varugiradu [// /*] nālāvu-
31. du inda oppandap-piragārattukku Viśaiyāpuram sāpuvu pāttisā avar-gaļukkum Ekōsi maharāsā avargaļukkum
32. Nāgapattanapattin pērilēyūm kumbini paļaiya kiřamām pattum- bērilēyūm ippōdaikkum inimēlukkum
33. ullā ninaiyum kavvaiyum mattum uđdāna kāriyamum viđtu appađiyē Nāgapattanamum kumbini pa-
34. lai⁹a² kiřamām pattum Poyyūrum pudiya velittōttamum kumbinivin kīlāga nađakkumbađi kaiyvasamākki
35. Ekōsi maharāsā avargaļ oppivikkiradu [/*] Uttama sīññor amarāl maharāsā avargaļ ippō Indiyakkrai-
36. kku śinnac-cennarālāga irukkira Rikkuloppu Vaṅgūsu avargaļ Maduraic-Cokkanātha nāyakkar avargaļ

¹ ai sign inserted below the line.² ai sign at end of l.33.

37. kāriyattukku kattarāna Kāvēttināyakkaruḍane 1674 āṁ āṇdu Ānanda varuṣam¹ Purattāsi māsām² tiyadiyilē³

38. inda ūrugalukku oppandam paṇṇit—Tirumalairāśavin paṭṭanam Kārai-kkāl kūḍa kumbinivukku kaivasa-

39. mākki nadandu vanda mannimaippadikku ālcciyāga anubavittukkondu vandadu appaḍiye kumbinivukktiṁ Ekōsi maharā-

40. sā avargalum nadappikkiradu /* inda naṇṇikkāga Ekōsi maharāsā avargalukku kumbini oru komban ānaiyum

41. rokkamum kodukkirōm enru ippō ōllugira vārttaippādu /* idukku viparam mūṇarai māttu mulaiyi-

42. le pon onrukup-paṇam pattāga varuṣam onrukku kumbini paṭṭaya kiṛāmam pātukkum pon āyirattu irunūru Nāgap-

43. ttaṇattukku pon mūvāyiram āgap-pon-nālāyirattu irunūru oru komban ānaiyum varussam mugivilē

44. Ēkōsi maharāsā avargalukku āgilum avargaṭ tattuvamuļla pērgalukku āgilum kumbini kudukkiradu⁴ // *

45. añjāvadu Nāgapatṭanattilē paṇakkambatṭamum virāgan kambatṭamum uttama kumbini nadakkumbadikku Ēkōsi

46. maharāsā avargaṭ sammadittu tattuvam koduttu nadappikkiradu /* adu edenrāl Tañjāvūrc-cimaiyilē valaṇ-

47. gurapadikku mūṇarai māttuppaṇamāgavum Pavaṇkkattulē sērkira varāgan padikku varāgan onrukku etṭa-

48. raiye arakkāl māttu āgavum Siññōr amarāl maharāsā avargalum Kāvētti nāyakkaram ottuppēsik-

49. koṇda oppandappaḍikku inda nāṇaiyam adikkira kambatṭattil kaṇḍa ādāyattilē silavu talli ninra ādā-

50. yan uttama kumbinivukkup-pādiyum Ēkōsi maharāsā avaragaṭukkup-pādiyum perukuradu /* indak-kambatṭattile (varu)⁵

51. varugira ādāyattukku Ēkōsi maharāsā avargaṭ maṇusār oruttar irundu kaṇakke lūdikkolla-

52. lām /* *] ārāvadu inda oppandappirāgārattukku Ēkōsi maharāsā avargaṭ sammadittuc-collugira vā (r*)-

53. ttaippādu inda ūrugalūn pērilē edō oru kāriyām vandālum Ēkōsi maharāsā avargaṭ kār-

54. ppāttik-kodukkiradu /* appaḍiye kārpāttikkoḍāmal kumbinive kār-ppāttikkolla-

55. vēndi irundāl kārpāttikkondu adunimittamāyc-cenra silavu varu-ṣāndam kodu-

56. kkira ponnile ottukkollugiradu /*⁶ ēlāvadu Nāgapatṭanattilē ullā dēvadāyam

¹ * and *. Symbols used.

⁴ Stop in the original.

⁵ These two letters seem to have been erased after engraving.

⁶ stop in the original.

57. virumadāyam mānipam madappiram munbin andap-piṣagaram nadappittukkollugiradu [11*]¹ etṭā-

58. vadu uttama śiññor amarāl maharāsā avarga! Maduraiyil Šokkanādānāyakkar avarga! udane 1674

59. āṇdu Ānanda varuśattile pēsikkonḍa oppandappirakārappadikku munnalē inda oppandattile eludi

60. irukkira paḍiye karaituraiyāna kāraikkāl Tirumalairāsāvin pattaṇam iraṇḍum tanadāga kumbini

61. vasamāga nadandadu [/*] appadi irukka anda iraṇḍu ūraiyum onbadu mādamāy Ekōsi maharāsā avarga! kai-

62. yyādi varugirārga! [/*] iduvum Tañjāvūrc-cimai Ēkōsi maharāsa avarga! katṭikkonḍapadiyinālē Kā(r) ai-

63. kkāl Tirumalairāsāvin-pattaṇamum tangaļai adaiya vēnumenru ninai-kkirārgal [/*] inda vinnāsattinālē

64. ittaivaraikkum uttama kumbinivukkum Ēkōsi maharāsā avargalukkum iruvagaikkum viyāparāttilevegutāl-

65. vu nadakkudu [/*] ānapadiyinālē kumbinivukkum Ekōsi maharāsā avargalukkum pettamārac-cirkkirattile samādā-

66. nam mugiyavum uṛavu uttiragōttiramāga nadakkavum iruvagaiyum śinēgam naḍakka(t*)takkadāgavum sarasamā-

67. y vattagam naḍakkattakkadāgavum sammadappat̄tu oppandamāyp-pēsikkonḍadu [/*] Kāraikkāl Tirumalairāsāvi-

68. n pattaṇattin pērilē kumbinivukku ullā valakkunū nāyamum innērattaikku tirutti Ilangaikka-

69. raikku kattarāna śiññor governodōr avargalukku arikkai paṇṇi adin piṣagu avarga! Nā-

70. gapattiṇattukku vanda uṇdanē śinēgamāy Ēkōsi maharāsā avargaludanē pēsittettukkolluvār-

71. gal ānapadiyinālē śiññor governodōr avarga! varumalavum Tirumalairāsāvin pattaṇamum K-

72. āraikkālum ippō Ēkōsi maharāsā avarga! kaiyāḍikkonḍu varugiradu pōlē kaiyyā-

73. di varugiradu [/*] samādānam mugindu inda oppandattile Ekōsi maharāsā avarga! kaiyoppam eludina

74. piṛpādu uttama kumbinivukkum uttama kumbinivuda vattagattukkum kidaikkum palan Tañjāvū (r*) ccir-

75. maiyile ellām śuyamāga śeyyum vattagattukellām araitīrvaiyum mannmaiyum

76. inda oppandattile iraṇḍāvadu eludi irukkira adigārappadikku naḍappitukkollukuradu [/*] iduvu-

77. m Kāraikkālile uttama kumbini mun kattī irunda pettiri viḍu viḍundu irukkira padiyinālē utta-

¹ Stop in the original.

78. ma kumbinivukku vēñdiyapōdu andap-pettiri viđum adarkuccēnda kittangugalum mu-

79. n śadiramāga irunda ellaippađikku kat̄ti kumbini vellai manus caraiyum pañividai-

80. kāraraiyum vaittu mun nađanda mannimaippađikku Ekōsi maharāsā avargal pādūkā-

81. ttu yādoru vikkinamanriyē vattagam nađappittukollu kuradu [//*] onbadāvadu [/*]¹

82. inda oppandappađikku ellām Ekōsi maharāsā avargal sammadittu kaiyoppam eludina

83. pirpādu [/*]² 1676 āñdu [/*]³ Rātcada varuśam⁴ Tai mādam mudal [/*] 1677 āñdu Pingala varuśam⁵ Ā-

84. ni mādam⁶ varailku varuśam onraaikku inda oppandattulē eludi irukkira-pađikku Nāgapattanattukkum

Second side

85. pałaiya kirāmām pattukkum kūđina pon ārāyirattumunnūrum komban yānai on-

86. rum idu kođukkum vagaikku viparam 1677 āñdu Nala varuśam⁶ Tai mādam⁷ mugivilē

87. kođukkum⁸ pon mūvāyirattu oru nūttu anbadum komban yānai onru iduvum Pingala varusam⁹

88. Āni mādam¹⁰ mugivilē kođukkum pon mūvāyirattu oru nūttu anbadu inda oppandappiragārattukku

89. nađappittukollak-kađavarāgavum

TRANSLATION.

(ll. 1-9).—The following are the terms of alliance agreed to on the 30th Mārgali in the year 1676, Nala at the end of negotiations between Śrimat Rājasr Ekōji Mahārājā,¹¹ the agent and general of the Pāduṣā Sāheb of Bijāpūr, ruling over the Tanjāvūr division, on the one side, and the Honourable Dutch Company on the other, represented by Signor Peter Verwer, Senior Captain, Signor Thomas Van Rhee, the Junior Captain, and other members of the Council at Negapatam, acting on behalf of Signor Admiral mahārājā Rijklof Van Goens, Lieutenant General of Inchia *alias* Malangarai, member of Council, and Governor of Ceylon, the Coromandel coast, Sālakkari and the Madura coast :—

(ll. 9-14).—Firstly, that the enmity and war that has come about between the Honourable Company and Ekōji Mahārājā shall cease, and that from to-day

¹ Stop in original.

² and ³. Stops in original.

⁴, ⁵, ⁶ and ⁷. Symbols used.

⁸ Part of o symbol at end of 1-86.

⁹ Symbol used.

¹⁰ Symbol used.

¹¹ The honorific suffix Avargal at the end of this and other names has been omitted in the translation.

they shall for ever be united in a steadfast friendship and alliance ; that from the commencement of this contract, the subordinates on either side shall conduct themselves in accordance with the terms of this *kaul* and enjoy the benefits thereof ; that in the name of the Saheb Pādusā of Bijāpūr, Ekōji māhārājā allows and grants (the following) to the Illustrious Dutch East India Company.

(ll. 14-25).—Secondly, in the whole of the Tanjore country the Honourable Company had been enjoying without any hindrance the privilege of paying half tolls on all merchandise imported for sale and exported by their factors and merchants at their pleasure ; this was allowed by the Mulla who was the agent of the Saheb Pādusa of Bijāpūr¹; afterwards, the late Vijayarāghava Nāyak of Tanjore agreed to this arrangement, and made a silver plate grant in the year 1661 A.D. and adhered to its terms ; these privileges of unhindered trade and half toll are now accepted and confirmed on the same terms as before by Elōji māhārājā by this *kaul* entered into with the Honourable Company ; this will apply to all the merchants of the Honourable Company over all the lands which form the Tanjore territory as stated in the *kaul* in the possession of the Honourable Company, and accordingly Ekōji māhārājā truly accepts, renews, confirms and grants (these privileges) to the Honourable Company.

(ll. 26-30).—Thirdly, the ten old villages in the possession of the Honourable Company shall remain with them as before ; further, the Poyyūr garden to the south of the fort of Negapatam and the garden to the west of the new veli-gōpuram which had been granted to the Honourable Company by the *kaul* of Vijayarāghava Nāyak of Tanjore, Ekōji māhārājā agrees to leave in their hands. For the ten old villages, the Honourable Company shall pay annually 1200 *pon*.

(ll. 30-41).—Fourthly, in accordance with this agreement, all the claims of the Saheb Pādusā of Bijāpūr and Ekōji māhārājā upon Negapatam and the old villages of the Company for the present and for all future shall be surrendered, and accordingly Ekōji māhārājā shall hand over to the administration of the Company Negapatam, the ten old villages of the company, Poyyūr and the new Veli garden ; on the 13th of the month of Purattāsi in the Ānandā year, A.D. 1674 the Honourable Signor Admiral Rijklof Van Goens, now Lieutenant-General of the Indian coast, entered into an agreement with Kāvettī Nāyāka, the agent of Cokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura regarding the villages of Tirumalairāja's pattanam and Kāraikāi that they be handed over to the Company's administration and these places have thus been under the Company's administration ; Ekōji māhārājā shall observe the same terms with the Company. In return for this the Company now contract to give to Ekōji māhārājā one tusker elephant and cash as detailed below, viz., 1200 *pon* per annum for the ten old villages of the Company, at 10 *panams* of 3½ *māttu* per *pon* ; 3000 *pon* for Negapatam ; making in all 4200 *pon* and one tusker elephant to be handed over by the Company at the end of the year to Ekōji māhārājā or his authorised representative.

(ll. 45-52).—Fifthly, Ekōji māhārājā approves and authorises the Honourable Company opening a mint at Negapatam for the minting of *panam* and *varāhan* (pagoda), the *panam* being of 3½ *māttu* like that current in Tanjore and the *varāhan* 8 5/8 *māttu* like that minted at Pulicat, and in accordance with the agreement made

¹ Heeres no. excise.

between Signor Admiral mahārājā and Kāvētti Nāyaka, the profits of the Mint, that is to say, the profits remaining over after the expenses have been met shall be divided equally between the Honourable Company and Ekōji mahārājā ; and one of Ekōji mahārājā's men may stay in the mint for the purpose of writing accounts to ascertain the profits of the mint.

(ll. 52-56).—Sixthly, Ekōji mahārājā undertakes to offer protection to the places above mentioned whenever necessary, and if he fails to do so, and the Company has to defend them at its own cost, it may do so and deduct the expenses incurred from the *pon* to be paid at the end of the year.

(ll. 56-57).—Seventhly, the dēvadāya, brahmadāya, mānya and madappuram¹ in Negapatam shall be continued as before.

(ll. 57-81).—Eighthly, in accordance with the agreement entered into in A.D. 1674, Ānanda year, between the Hon'ble Signor Admiral mahārājā and Cokkanātha Nāyakkar of Madura, and as stated earlier in this agreement, the seaport towns of Kāraikāl and Tirumalai raja's-pattanam were in the hands of the Company as their possessions ; but for the last nine months these two places have been occupied by Ekōji mahārājā, who thinks that they should also go to him on account of his occupation of the Tanjore kingdom ; on account of this difference, there has been a great fall till now in the trade both of the Honourable Company and Ekōji mahārājā ; therefore the following agreement has been made with a view to put an end to the differences between the Company and Ekōji mahārājā and to conclude a treaty between them which will bind them together for all time in mutual friendship, and restore the conditions of peaceful trade : the dispute regarding the rights of the Company over Kāraikāl and Tirumalairaja's pattanam will be reported to the Signor Governor, the ruler of Ceylon, who will thereupon come to Negapatam and enter into friendly negotiations with Ekōji mahārājā and reach a final settlement thereupon ; till the arrival of the Signor Governor ; therefore, Ekōji mahārājā will continue to hold Tirumalairaja's pattanam and Kāraikāl as he has been holding them so far ; when peace is concluded, and Ekōji mahārājā signs this agreement, the Honourable Company will be allowed the privilege of paying half tolls on all their merchandise throughout the kingdom of Tanjore as stated in section 2 of this agreement ; as the factory house at Kāraikāl built by the Hon'ble Company before has fallen into ruin, the Hon'ble Company shall be free to reconstruct at their convenience the factory house and the godowns belonging to it within the old bounds, to post Europeans and other servants there and carry on trade as before without any hindrance, under the protection of Ekōji mahārājā.

(ll. 82-89).—Ninthly, after Ekōji mahārājā accepts the terms of this agreement and signs it, the Company undertake to pay in the following manner the sum of 6300 *pon* and give one tusker elephant due to him on Negapatam and the ten old villages in accordance with the terms hereinabove mentioned for the period of a year and a half from A.D. 1676 Rāksasa year, Tai month, to A.D. 1677, Pingāla year, Āni month, viz., at the end of Tai, in year Nala, A.D. 1677—a sum of 3150 *pon* and a tusker elephant, and at the end of Āni in the year Pingāla a sum of 3150 ; and the Company will conform to the terms of this agreement.

¹ These are respectively endowments for temples and brahmans, tax-free land for specified services, and land given to charitable feeding houses.

**Memorandum on the Nature and Scope of Persian Records of the Punjab Government.
(1803—1890.)**

(By Muhammad Sadullah, M.A.)

In this paper I propose to describe at some length the nature and scope of the work in which I have been engaged for the last two years and a half. It relates to Persian materials which form a part of the archives of the Punjab Record Office. I will indicate their probable history, their contents and their importance ; the methods of approach hitherto followed and the scheme proposed for calendaring and preserving them. I should make it clear at the outset that this mass of material is to be distinguished from the Khalsa *Durbar* papers which were classified and catalogued by Lala Sita Ram Kohli and a number of scholars subsequently engaged for that work. The British records written in Persian were allowed to remain as they were and it is to this unsorted heap that my remarks will mainly be confined.

These papers are tied up in bundles of varying size in pieces of cotton cloth and are known as the *bastas*. They were either kept in this form in the office of the *Mir Munshi* whence they were transferred to the custody of the Keeper of the Records or subsequently assumed their present shape because of their bulk. The *bastas* are about 300 in number and may be divided into three different heads.

There is, in the first instance, a set of 68 bundles which we may conveniently call miscellaneous. In fact, all the bundles can be so called as there is no arrangement among them and the title given to a bundle is usually erroneous and misleading. These 68 bundles can be classified as follows :—

Basta No. 1.—Papers relating to trade with Central Asia, 1846—1875.

Basta No. 2.—Dak *chalans*, 1843—1845.

Bastas No. 3 and 25 A to C.—Papers relating to the Lahore *Durbar*, the North-Western Frontier, Afghanistan, etc., 1808—1877.

Basta No. 4.—Viceregal and Provincial *Durbars* and *Durbaris*, 1846—1882.

Basta No. 5.—Papers relating to Nepal, 1815—1846.

Basta No. 6.—Schedules of duties on imports, etc., 1856—1862.

Bastas No. 7 A to K and 8.—News and cases relating to the Jammu and Kashmir State, 1846—1888.

Bastas No. 9 A to G.—News of the Lahore *Durbar* and papers relating to Protected Territories, 1844—1861.

Bastas No. 10 A to F.—Military contingent papers, bills, receipts, etc., 1848—1883.

Bastas No. 11 A to D.—Revenue files, 1853—1860.

Bastas No. 12 A to J.—Files relating to pensions and pensioners, 1849—1886.

Bastas No. 13 A to C.—Papers relating to *jagirs* and *sanads*, 1849—1877.

Bastas No. 14 A to D.—Civil and Criminal files of the Punjab and North-West Frontier, 1847—1880.

Basta No. 15.—Ferozepore Agency papers relating to the Lahore *Durbar*, 1839—1845.

Basta No. 16.—Lahore Diaries, and letters received and issued, 1839—1873.

Basta No. 17.—Pay accounts of the Sikh Regiments, *Sambat* 1896—1905 (A.D. 1839—1848).

Bastas No. 18 and 20 A.—Miscellaneous news from chief towns and States in the Punjab, 1841—1850.

Basta No. 19.—An alphabetical list of the Punjab villages containing their names, lands, wells and other particulars; Government Gazettes and News-papers, 1871—1875.

Basta No. 20 B.—Agha Khan—Major Chamberlain correspondence relating to horses, 1851—1852.

Basta No. 21.—News-papers with departmental comments and other files relating to Native States, 1849—1890.

Basta No. 22.—Miscellaneous papers and private correspondence of high officials with prominent non-officials, 1849—1862.

Bastas No. 23 A and B.—Papers relating to the Jullundur Doab Agency, the Lahore Residency and other protected territories, 1839—1877.

Basta No. 24.—Papers relating to the Lahore *Durbar*, *jagirs*, pensions, mutiny services and rewards, etc., 1848—1880.

The second set consists of 115 *bastas* which are deposited in the two rooms adjoining the present entrance leading to Anarkali's tomb. These bundles are usually referred to as the vernacular records of the Bahawalpur, Patiala, Nabha and Jind agencies. Correspondence with the Bahawalpur State begins from 1839 and continues right up to the year 1877; while in the case of the Phulkian States it begins as early as 1803 and continues more or less up to the year 1880. This lot is the most important of the whole collection as it includes the political relations of these States with the British Government and territorial disputes between the States and the British Government and between the States themselves. From the unbroken continuity of these papers we may consider them to be a complete historical record in so far as the above agencies are concerned.

The third set amounts to a little above 100 *bastas* dealing with the period from 1809 to 1851 and can be sub-divided as follows:—

1. Ludhiana Agency papers, 1809—1840. 59 *bastas*.
2. Lahore *Durbar* Agency papers, 1842—1849. 16 *bastas*.
3. Papers relating to Diwan Mulraj and the Rising at Multan. 2 *bastas*.
4. Papers relating to the Second Sikh War, the Rising at Hazara under Sardar Chattar Singh and the rebellion of Bhai Maharaj Singh. 6 *bastas*.
5. Papers relating to pensions, rewards, *jagirs* and other cases disposed of by Sir John Login and Captain Tronson in the Fort at Lahore, 1849—1851. 4 *bastas*.
6. Papers relating to receptions and *khillats* for the ruling and other chiefs of the Punjab and to the First Afghan War, 1827—1842. 2 *bastas*.

7. Papers relating to the Kabul War, the Lahore *Durbar*, the Jammu and Kashmir State, the Hazara rebellion of 1846, and the Ambala Agency with the Protected Cis-Sutlej States. 3 *bastas*.

The above is the only index which could possibly be prepared at this stage. It will, however, be apparent from a close study of these sub-divisions, which are but arbitrary, that this rich mine of historical material deals with the political and economic conditions of the territories extending from the Jumna in the south-east to the borders of Russia on the north and north-west and to the confines of Sindh on the south-west in the nineteenth century. These frontiers include the British Punjab, the Punjab States, Jammu and Kashmir, N. W. Frontier, Afghanistan, Sindh, Herat, Kandhar, Ghazni, and various other principalities of Central Asia. Although it cannot be claimed that this is a complete record of the territories enumerated above, we are, on the other hand, satisfied that these are the original papers dealing with the political correspondence and intelligence upon which the English correspondence in the Political Department is mainly based. The amount of money spent by the British Government for acquiring a first-hand knowledge of its neighbours during the first half of the nineteenth century must have been enormous as these papers abound in news sent by different news-writers at the courts of native princes and in large cities and towns. They provide us, therefore, with a material useful for the study of the rise and expansion of the British power from the Jumna to the North-West of India. Nor is that all. Amongst all this information, kept mostly in the form of news and correspondence, we have a regular record of the transactions of the British Government with all the Protected States, the Lahore *Durbar* and the Amirs of Afghanistan. There are also, here and there, bits of useful information about the internal administration of the country. News-sheets relating to the Native States are indeed regular daily annals of their Courts and some of the bundles contain illuminating accounts of trade with Jammu and Kashmir, Afghanistan and the countries beyond and of the long and circuitous routes along which it was carried. The original letters exchanged between the British Government and the Lahore *Durbar*, Metcalfe's Mission to Lahore, the Tripartite Treaty of 1838, the First Afghan War, the First and the Second Sikh Wars, the Mutiny, private and public correspondence with ruling chiefs and men of influence and relations with neighbours beyond the Indus—all these subjects find a place in this confused mass of papers. There is no doubt, therefore, that there exists in them a data for tracing the political, social and economic history of this province and that after classification they will, in many respects, complete the continuity of our English records.

As stated above, there is no order or arrangement in them. They are, in their present form, a miscellaneous collection of dirty papers requiring careful treatment. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to know whether these bundles were originally made by some one who knew their significance or whether they were made hap-hazardly by persons who knew nothing about them. It seems, however, possible that while these papers went on accumulating, they were, more or less, properly cared for anterior to 1890, the year which marks the termination of vernacular correspondence. The post of *Mir Munshi* to Government was abolished in 1920 and after that date there was no one to look after them. They have thus been neglected for the last fifty years. Sir Lepel Griffin had already utilized some of them for his two famous books. Some of the files relating to *Durbaris* were transferred to the Political Branch of the main Secretariat in 1920, while the rest

were, a few years later, stored in Anarkali's tomb. For several years they lay there intermixed with other Secretariat furniture. Some of the most important files were taken away in 1907 and 1908 under orders of the late Mr. A. Raynor, then on special duty in Anarkali's tomb, slips having been inserted in their places with the remarks "with Mr. Raynor's requisition dated.....". But they have never been restored since then. Record-keepers from the various branches of the main Secretariat took the required papers away at will without ever taking the trouble of putting them back in their original places. They were then subjected to the craze of the philatelists, most prominent among them being some officials themselves.

Their worst enemies, however, have been damp and insects, nothing whatever having been done until very recently to see that the Persian papers should not perish. Some of them are 125 years old. They have been lying in dark cells which are particularly air-tight, have become damp through the absence of sufficient light and in parts have become enveloped in layers of thick black soil.

The papers are written mainly in the Persian language in *shikasta* characters which is by no means easy to decipher without considerable practice. The Persian offices of our Government followed in the earlier years the Sikh system of keeping the official records in loose sheets of *Kashmiri* or *Sialkoti* paper tied with a cotton string in the top right corner. This system had been borrowed from the Mughals. It was only during the latter half of the nineteenth century that a small two-fold paper with the insignia of the Government of India was introduced for jotting down notes. Statements were recorded in British courts of justice in Persian as late as 1855 when it was made optional; but it remained till very lately the ordinary vehicle of correspondence with native rulers and private gentlemen. Mixed up with the *bastas* we sometimes come across English proceedings which have got lost into them, and, here and there, also, in later years, a few papers written in Urdu. As in the subject matter, so in the size and quality of the papers, there is no uniformity of shape, and they are made two-fold, four-fold, eight-fold and even made into rolls according to their length and the practice of their time. Where the original arrangement exists, a closing cover indicates the date and the abstract of the proceedings and the department to which they belong.

The Keeper of the Records has taken care to see that I examine those *bastas* first with the nature of the contents of which I had become acquainted from my study of the English records of the corresponding period. This course has indeed been very useful. The method I have hitherto followed in their preliminary classification is this. A *basta* is first broken up after the index given on the cloth outside, if any such exists, has been noted. The papers are put in the sun, cleaned and dusted and brought in, so far as possible, in their original groupings. They are then taken up one by one, deciphered, and put into a shelf provided with pigeon-holes for the purpose according to dates and subjects. After their contents have thus been studied they are removed to flat shelves and arranged in a chronological order in yearly groups. The material is thus made ready for drawing up a rough list which is prepared according to the main headings into which the contents have been divided and in conformity with the order of events. A new title is chosen for every bundle, the papers are likewise put into envelopes in serial groupings and the *basta* or the cotton cloth is discarded.

The present method of making a list showing the existing arrangement seems the best to be followed at present, first, because a thorough investigation has failed to show any significance in the existing arrangement; secondly, because there is nothing to indicate either the subject or the chronological order of these bundles, even papers comprised in each group being utterly disarranged; and, thirdly, because the absence of a continuous and a consecutive pagination has rendered the task peculiarly difficult. These bundles are, therefore, being split up or dissolved on a rational system. When a preliminary examination of all the three hundred *bastas* along with other papers has been completed and their contents put into envelopes, the papers will be brought back into their original groupings with the help of the rough list which is being prepared. A second list will accordingly be drawn up showing their new particulars. Only when these preliminaries are over will it be possible for me to commence and take in hand the work of the actual arrangement and classification which will ultimately form the basis of the final catalogue.

I am putting aside files which I think are of no historical value. I believe that from 10 to 15% of the whole lot will ultimately have to be destroyed. In the actual work of classification, however, it has sometimes not been possible to decide upon the merits of a particular case which if not historical from one point of view may be considered worth preserving from another. All the papers have, therefore, been classed into three main sections for purposes of weeding and destruction:—

- (i) Decidedly important papers,
- (ii) Papers the importance of which is doubtful, and
- (iii) Decidedly unimportant papers.

While papers of doubtful importance are being brought upon the rough list along with those of the first category for decision hereafter, those regarding the worthlessness of which no doubt exists are set aside for destruction. The Keeper of the Records proposes to go through them individually before they are destroyed. Such papers usually deal with the Secretariat establishment, their appointments, transfers and leave, petitions and other minor civil and criminal cases. While periodical destruction of unimportant papers will thus be taking place, the papers the importance of which is doubtful will go on accumulating until their calendaring which is to be done at the third stage. They will then be subjected to a closer scrutiny and when their bulk has been considerably reduced the work of classification will be further facilitated.

As has been described above, the third classification will form the basis for the final catalogues. Such catalogues or rather calendars will necessarily make several volumes. At present groups of papers have been formed and arbitrary names have been given to each, e.g., "Papers relating to.....dated....." At the second stage only a re-arrangement of papers will take place. Proceedings kept in groups will then be broken up. Every main heading will be prefaced by a brief introduction, folios numbered and an abstract translation of each letter added for the convenience of the reader as has been done in press-lists of the English records. A preliminary list of the contents of 40 *bastas* has already been made ready in a rough form which covers more than 400 pages.

Our primary business as archivists, however, is to save this Persian material from its present dangerous state of decay, and to make it preservable. For this purpose they will be flattened and repaired after their final arrangement has been effected. Some of the papers require not merely mending but sizing as well. The longer papers will be put under cover and stitched through the guards while the smaller ones will be bound in volumes and thus preserved.

It is apparent from the process explained above that the progress to be made with a work of this kind can only be very gradual and slow. There are four rooms full of papers which are to be dealt with covering well nigh the whole of the nineteenth century. The facilities which were available in the classification of our English records are sadly lacking in the present work. The English materials were in a fair state of preservation and a press-list could be printed from the abstracts given for every month even before the actual papers had been gone through. I had purposely selected to start with the smaller bundles. Those lying ahead are larger ones and will, therefore, take a longer time to be examined. Calculating at the speed at which the work is now progressing, it will take from 20 to 25 years to complete the whole work unless, of course, it is decided to render further assistance to me to speed it up.

The Wills of Francois Martin and Madam Mary De Cuperly his Wife.

(By A. Balasubramaniam Pillai.)

Francois Martin, the real founder of the French dominions in India, was born in Paris in 1634. He embarked on 1st March 1665 from Brest as a sub-merchant and landed at Madagascar where he stayed for three years. Subsequently, he was promoted as merchant and transferred to Surat on the 10th March 1669. He was then sent on missions to Arabia and Persia. After a stay of two months at Bunder Abbas, he returned to India and remained idle for two years at Masulipatam. He was then seen in 1673 at San Thome and after the capture and destruction of that town by the Dutch on the 6th September 1674, he requested and got from Shirkhan Lodi the grant of a piece of land on which he laid the foundations of Pondicherry. He established and improved the traffic and made the town prosperous by his assiduity and zeal.

Towards the end of August 1693, the Dutch attacked Pondicherry, and after a strenuous defence of twelve days, Martin, despairing of success, began to negotiate and signed a most honourable capitulation on the 8th September 1693. He then returned to France where the Knighthood of St Lazare of Jerusalem and Our Lady of Mount Carmel was conferred on him by the King for his distinguished services. On the restoration of Pondicherry to France by the treaty of Ryswyk, concluded on the 21st September 1697, Martin was reinstated in command and sent there. On resumption of office, he enlarged and strengthened the fortifications of the town and organized a garrison of 700 to 800 Europeans. He also built a great number of houses and stores. Three years after, the Supreme Council was created at Surat by the royal edict of 21st January 1701 and Martin was appointed President of that assembly and Director General of the affairs of the French in India.

This Supreme Council was later transferred from Surat to Pondicherry, and on the 25th August 1706, Francois Martin conducted solemnly the inauguration of

Fort Louis. This was the last event of his administration and life at Pondicherry. The founder of Pondicherry died four months after, on the 31st December 1706, leaving to bemoan his loss, his wife, daughters and grand-daughters and all the inhabitants of the town, and was probably interred in the chapel of the fort.

During his stay in India, he won the confidence of the Indians by his kindness and goodness and converted the desert shore granted to him into a flourishing town of 40,000 inhabitants.

Madam Mary de Cuperly, his wife, died on the 3rd February 1711; before their demise Francois Martin and his wife, Marry de Cuperly, made their wills which are valuable to history by reason of the information they supply.

Francois Martin, being ill for a long time before his death and foreseeing his approaching end, called the Secretary of the Supreme Council, who discharged the duties of a notary, to the room in the Government House where he was bedridden, and dictated to him his last will.

He decided that his wife Mary de Cuperly should, during her life time, enjoy full possession of all his properties, which after her death should be divided amongst their children according to the custom prevailing in Paris. The will did not enumerate these properties. Francois Martin also bestowed gifts on the Capuchins, the Jesuits and several private individuals. Further he mentioned some debts he owed and requested these to be cleared up.

The will of Mary de Cuperly, wife of Francois Martin, is of great value as it contains indications about the tomb of her husband and also dwells on her own family.

For a long time the whereabouts of Francois Martin's burial place in the chapel in the fort was unknown. Mr. Armand Gellois Montbrun, Mayor of Pondicherry, was unable to locate it in spite of several searches made by him in various places. But the will of Mary de Cuperly refers to it.

In her first deed dated the 16th September 1709, Mary de Cuperly bequeathed a sum of 300 pagodas to erect a mausoleum either over the place where her husband was interred or over the place to which his remains might be subsequently removed. But by a codicil dated the 7th November 1710, she cancelled this item and instructed that the above sum of 300 pagodas should be utilized in alms in the parish in Paris where her sons-in-law dwelt.

If on the 7th November 1710, *viz.*, nearly four years after the death of Francois Martin, no mausoleum had been erected at Pondicherry in his honour, it may be surmised that no such building has ever since been erected.

During the XVIII century, people showed generally little respect to their revered dead or their sepulchres. The grave of Francois Martin must have *sine dubio* disappeared in course of time, as it happened to the tombs of Generals Duchemin and Bussy who lived and died at a later date.

As for the family of Francois Martin, one of his daughters, Mary, was married to Francois Louis Boureau Deslandes, generally known as Deslandes, who founded the settlement of Chandernagore in 1688 and was the first chief of it till 1700, when he retired from service and returned to France. The will mentions that his second daughter, who lived in Paris, married one Lanriau. His third daughter, named Agnes, who also lived in Paris, married one Michel Despres, citizen of that town and brother of

Francois Despres, merchant and secretary of the Council at Pondicherry. Michel Despres and Agnes Martin had a daughter named Anne Agnes Marguerite.

On the return of Deslandes to France, as Francois Martin and Mary de Cuperly felt the chill of isolation in their advanced age, they decided that their grand-daughter should join them at Pondicherry. In spite of his high position, it is praiseworthy to note, that in private life he was not indifferent to the ties of kinship. He did not forget his grand-daughter and provided her with a gift of 1500 Madras Pagodas when she should marry in consideration of her being an aid to him and his wife Mary de Cuperley in their old age.

Agnes married on the 22nd February 1705 Claude Boyvind' Hardencourt, counsellor in the Supreme Council, and their marriage was celebrated by Monsieur Morin, Bishop of Tyropolis and Vicar Apostolic.

By her will Mary de Cuperly expressly bound her heirs to let the above said Sir and Lady d'Hardancourt enjoy entirely and peacefully the gift of 1500 Pagodas ; as desired by her husband, Mary de Cuperly also ordered that if this condition was not complied with, her heirs would be excluded and evicted from succession.

The remaining portion of the will and the codicil of Madam Francois Martin are of no interest.

WILL OF FRANCOIS MARTIN.

(22nd September 1706.)

Before the undersigned, Secretary of the Supreme Council of the Royal Company of France at Pondicherry discharging the sole duty of notary at this town and in presence of witnesses hereinafter named, Francois Martin, Ecuyer and Chevalier (Equerry and Knight) of the Order of St. Lazare and Governor of Fort Louis and of the town of Pondicherry, lying in his house indisposed in bed, but sound in mind, memory and sense as it appeared to me and to the said witnesses and uncertain of the hour of his death and desiring to put right his concerns and to dispose of the properties which God was pleased to give him in this world before then, has therefore made and dictated to me the said Secretary his will as follows :

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

First of all as a true Christian and good Catholic he has recommended and recommends his soul to God, the Creator, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, entreating His Divine Majesty by the merits of the passion of Our Saviour Jesus Christ and by the intercession of the Glorious Virgin Mary and of St. Francis, his patron, to be pleased to place his soul in Heaven.

I wish, insist and my intention is that Mary de Cuperly, my wife, enjoys after my death and during her life time all common properties that have existed between us without any inventory or description thereof being taken and none of our heirs shall demand an account of the same.

I give and bequeath as alms the sum of 100 current pagodas to the Reverend Fathers Capuchins of this town requesting them to pray God for me.

I give and bequeath the same sum of 100 pagodas to Reverend Fathers Jesuits of this town.

I give and bequeath the same sum of 100 pagodas to the Missionaries of the Foreign Mission settled in this town to be employed for their Missions.

I give and bequeath 30 current pagodas to the Cathedral Church of St. Thome.

I give and bequeath as alms the sum of 30 pagodas to the Reverend Fathers Capuchins of the Asylum of Madras.

I give and bestow the sum of 120 pagodas to be deposited at 10 per cent in cash with the Company and I wish that its annual interest of 12 pagodas should be utilized by the Reverend Fathers Jesuits of this town for the maintenance of two catechists employed in Madura and west missions and I also desire that a copy of the statement should be handed over to them as an authority.

I wish that a sum of 25 pagodas be distributed as alms on the day of my burial to the beggars and another sum of 50 pagodas to the poor people who are ashamed to beg.

I give and bequeath the sum of 15 current pagodas to one named Alaverdie in recognition of the services rendered by him to me.

I give and bequeath the sum of 10 current pagodas to one named Claude Brunet for the same intention.

I give and bequeath the sum of 5 current pagodas to Greapa and Aytambv each for the same intention.

I declare that I owe Mr. Pilavoine, General Director at Surat, the sum of 763 Rupees as balance of account which I wish to be paid to him ; but in case it is found that I owe him more than the said sum, I desire that it be settled as per the account rendered by Mr. Pilavoine.

I declare that I owe also Mr. Du Livier, Director in Bengal, a certain sum for the clothes sent to me for which settlement shall be effected as per account he shall render.

I declare that I owe a man named Clerge who maintained the Licorne Tennis Court in the Bourg L'Abbe in Paris the sum of 120 livres which sum I wish to be paid to his heirs and also I wish that all above mentioned sums be paid by the executor of my will as appointed hereinafter.

After the death of my wife Mary de Cuperly, I wish and insist that all properties that are left by her be divided amongst my children according to the customs prevailing in Paris.

As declared in the first paragraph of my present will, my intention is Mary de Cuperly, my wife, should enjoy during her life time all our common properties. I also appoint her to execute this my present will and all its contents and as I have much confidence in Mr. De La Prevostiere who receives my present will, I request my wife to be pleased to consult him and follow his advice on matters that may unexpectedly arise after my death.

It was so made and dictated by the said testator to the above Secretary, who in the presence of the said witnesses read and re-read to him the present will which he said he heard well and he wished to be executed according to its form and tenor annulling such wills and codicils which he might have made prior to this.

Made and drawn at Fort Louis at Pondicherry in the house of the testator where he is lying indisposed in bed in the year 1706 the twenty second day of September in the presence of sieurs Despres, merchant, and C. Louet, sub-merchant, of the Royal Company who are the witnesses called by the testator. The testator and witnesses have signed along with me the above Secretary.

(Signed) MARTIN,
DESPRES,
C. LOUET,
DE LA PREVOSTIERE,
SECRETARY.

WILL OF MADAM FRANCOIS MARTIN.

(16th September 1709.)

Before the undersigned Secretary of the Supreme Council of the Royal Company of France at Pondicherry and in presence of witnesses hereinafter named Lady Mary de Cuperly, widow of late Francois Martin, Equerry and Knight of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and of St. Lazare of Jerusalem and Governor of Fort Louis and the town of Pondicherry, dwelling in the said town, sound in mind, memory and sense as it appeared to me and to the said witnesses and uncertain of the hour of her death and desiring to put right her concerns and to dispose of the properties, which God was pleased to give her, has therefore made and dictated to me, the said Secretary her last will as follows :

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

First of all as true Christian and Catholic, she has recommended and recommends her soul to God, the Creator, the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost entreating His Divine Majesty by the infinite merits of the death and the passion of Our Saviour Jesus Christ and by the intercession of the Glorious Virgin Mary, St. Francis, her good Guardian Angel and Blessed Souls to be pleased to place her soul in Heaven :

The said Lady testatrix declared that she desires that her body, after her death, should be buried near the body of her late husband.

She declared that she gives as alms the sum of 100 current pagodas to the Reverend Fathers Capuchins of Pondicherry requesting them to pray for the repose of her soul and that of her said husband.

She declared that she gives as alms the sum of 100 current pagodas to the Reverend Fathers Jesuits of Pondicherry.

She declared that she gives the sum of 60 pagodas to be distributed to the poor of Pondicherry, half by the Reverend Fathers Capuchins and the other half by the Reverend Fathers Jesuits to be distributed proportionately to the poor people who are ashamed to beg and to beggars.

She declared that she gives the sum of 400 pagodas to Miss Mary Agnes d'Hardancourt, her god-daughter and daughter of Mr. d'Hardancourt, Counsellor at the Supreme Council for all her kindness to her.

She declared and insisted by this will that the sum of 1500 pagodas given by the late Monsieur Martin, her husband, and herself, and stipulated as dowry to Miss Agnes Marguerite Despres, wife of the said Mr. d'Hardancourt in the marriage agreement shall be paid to the said Miss Despres, her grand-daughter, in consideration of the pains she has been pleased to take to come from France at their request and comfort them in their old age; she also declared that she prays and requests their heirs to let Monsieur and Madam d'Hardancourt entirely and peacefully enjoy that sum as a pure gift and present bestowed on them for the aforesaid considerations, and she insists that any such of her heirs who would refuse to abide by this condition or counteract it should be excluded and evicted from succession.

She declared that she gives the sum of 300 current pagodas to be utilized by the executor hereinafter nominated to erect a monument over the place where her husband was interred or over any other place to which it might be subsequently removed.

She declared that she gives full and entire liberty to Francisque and Mary her slaves and that she gives the sum of 6 current pagodas to the said Francisque and the sum of 15 pagodas to the said Mary to enable them to start in life.

To execute the present will the said testatrix has nominated and nominates Mr. de Beauvoillier, captain of the garrison of Pondicherry, in whom she has confidence and requests him to carry out her intentions.

This will was so made and dictated by the said Madam testatrix to the above Secretary who, in the presence of the said witnesses read and re-read this present will which she said she heard well and wished to be executed according to its form and tenor.

Annulling all other wills and codicils which she might have made before this she wishes and insists that the present will should have effect.

Made and drawn up in the room of the testatrix in the year 1709 on Monday the sixteenth September in the forenoon in the presence of the required witnesses Messieurs Nicolas Moisy and John Baptiste du Laurent, private merchants dwelling at Pondicherry.

The testatrix and witnesses have signed with me the above secretary.

(Signed) MARTIN,

MOISY,

DU LAURENT,

DORIGNY.

CODICIL OF MADAM FRANCOIS MARTIN.

(7th November 1710.)

On the 7th day of the month of November 1710, the said Madam Mary de Cuperly mentioned in the present will, has called the Secretary of the Supreme Council of the Royal Company of France at Pondicherry, and sound in mind, memory and

sense as it appeared to me, the said Secretary and to the witnesses hereinafter named, has, by form of codicil, made and dictated to me the said Secretary as follows :

She declared that she makes null and void the paragraph of her testament concerning 300 pagodas given by her to erect a mausoleum over the place where the body of Francois Martin her husband is interred or over any other place to which it may be removed, that her intention and express desire is that the above sum of 300 pagodas should be distributed as alms in the parish in Paris where dwell her sons-in-law.

She declared that Mr. Dugue, Lieutenant of the garrison of Pondicherry, ordered his brother in Paris to pay Mr. Lanriau, her son-in-law in Paris, the sum of 500 livres and on her being advised of the receipt of the said sum by the said Mr. Lanriau in Paris, she would hand over at Pondicherry to the said Mr. Dugue the sum of 100 pagodas its equivalent.

She declared that she gives and bequeaths to Mr. d'Hardancourt, Counsellor at the said Council, all China wares belonging to her and which are in her house at Pondicherry.

She declared that she gives to Mr. De la Prevostiere, Counsellor at the said Council, one empty chest with brass work he would select from those lying in her bed room.

She declared that she gives to Mr. Beauvoillier, Captain of the garrison of Pondicherry, one gold medal with the image of the King which was with one Reverend Father Thomas Capuchin.

She declared that she gives Mr. d'Hardancourt a big cross inlaid with ivory worked on black velvet having gilt frame and also her palanquin with brass work.

She declared that she has explained to Mr. d'Hardancourt how her old clothes and linen should be disposed of and has requested him to be pleased to execute her intentions after her death.

As for the rest of her said will, the said testatrix has declared she wishes it to be executed according to the contents of the present codicil.

This was so made and dictated by the said testatrix to the above Secretary who read and re-read this codicil which she said she had heard well and wished to be executed according to its form and tenor.

Made and drawn in the house of the said lady testatrix on the day, month and year above mentioned, in presence of the required witnesses Messieurs Nicolas Moisy, private merchant residing at Pondicherry, and Pierre Elye de la Vaupalliere, clerk of the Company of the said place.

The testatrix and witnesses have signed with me the above secretary.

(Signed) MARTIN,

N. MOISY,

ELYE DE LA VEUPALLIBRE,

DELORME.

A letter of Maharaja Abhai Singh of Marwar.

(By Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Sahityacharya.)

The document, which I have the humble privilege of submitting before the I. H. R. C., is a letter of Maharaja Abhai Singh of Marwar, addressed to his Vakil at the Mughal Court and describes his military achievements in Gujarat. Thus it illuminates a forgotten episode in the history, not only of an illustrious man, but also of the illustrious Rathor race, which he represented.

The circumstances, in the face of which these military successes had to be won, were exceptionally critical. Emperor Muhammad Shah was on the throne of Delhi, but his empire was threatened with disruption on every side. In the south, the situation was almost unbearable. Nizam-ul-Mulk had allied himself with the Marathas and his uncle had been harassing Sarbuland Khan, the Imperial Governor of Gujarat. The Marathas had under the leadership of Pilaji, the deputy of Khanderao Dabhade, Commander of the Raja of Satara (and ancestor of the Gaekwar's), had established their sway over Baroda, Dabhoi, etc., and had converted the province into a sort of marauding ground for themselves. Even Sarbuland Khan had been obliged to admit the Maratha claim to *Chauth* and *Sardesh Mukhi*. This was the situation which Abhai Singh was called upon to meet when he was appointed by the Emperor to the Government of Gujarat. The previous Governor was unwilling to vacate his office, but soon finding himself unable to maintain his position was compelled to hand over his charge to the Rathor Chief. There remained now the task of ridding Gujarat of the Maratha plunderers and of giving it peace. How he acquitted himself in this, will be found in the document itself, of which an English translation is given below.

Top lines in Maharaja's own hand-writing.

May God always be our Protector.

Your petition as well as the letters of other officials were received and the detailed information known. You have done excellently well in negotiating with the Nawab hence your services have been appreciated. Do not accept any more service without the grant of Jagir—in this your loyalty will be known.

All the southern people have become hostile to us and we have left no stone unturned to serve the Emperor. Now if the Nawab will comply with our request we shall maintain order in the province (of Gujarat) and hold it, otherwise we certainly do not want to guard it. If the Nawab does as desired by us and allots the whole revenue of the province to maintain an army as long as there is the fear of invasion, for a period of a year or two, we hold ourselves responsible for the province and will not allow any landlord to raise his head.

Lines on the margin in continuation of the above.

If he will accede to all these demands we will remain here and care for the safety of the province, otherwise we are determined to leave. In that case he may entrust it to any one else whomever he thinks fit. If he sanctions the grant of Jagir we will hold the province.

You previously made a mention about Malwa, but we do not like it and you should not accept any proposal about some other place but try to get the Jagir in Gujarat. Then our true metal will be known.

You will gather full information from the letter of Dhannuda. You mentioned about Yadgarkhan and the Jati (Jain priest). Better keep both of them under your palm and do whatever is useful and serves best the purpose of the Darbar. Do not care for whatever others say. We have reached Baroda and tomorrow will march towards the Narbada. We have driven away the enemy from 24 fortresses and posted garrisons in every one of them. The rest in possession of the enemy will be speedily taken.

At present by the grace of God the enemy will not be able to remain on this bank of the Narbada, but later on it will depend upon the arrangements made against him. By the grace of God the enemy dare not stay within 50 miles of us. Be confident. We are pleased with you. Now is the time to do your duty. When performed satisfactorily it will be acknowledged and appreciated. It is our command. The detailed happenings will be clear from the letter of Dhannuda. By command.

Contents of the Royal seal.

By the grace of Almighty Goddess Hingulaj, glory be to sovereign ruler, King of Kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhaisingh Deva, who shines like the sun on the earth.

Hari, Amba, Shiva, Sun, and Vinayak--may these five deities always bestow favours.

Approval of the letter in Maharaja's own calligraphy.

It is our command.

Letter.

By command of the illustrious, sovereign ruler, King of Kings, Maharaja Shri Abhaisinghji and his heir-apparent Shri Ramsinghji, Bhandari Amarsingh should note their favours.

When Pilu, the plunderer, after crossing the river Mahi with 15,000 cavalry and 5,000 foot, advanced in this direction and Darbar's forces were encamped at Vareja his (Pila's) men came to negotiate the terms. In the course of discussion they showed reluctance to hand over Baroda and also used some harsh words. Though there was no hope of reaching a settlement yet to encourage them we sent Inda Lakhdhir, Bhandari Ajabsingh and Pancholi Ramanand to negotiate and secretly instructed them that on receipt of their written request we will send a contingent. Accordingly on receipt of their letter we despatched 2,000 selected cavalry. When this force neared the camp of Pila, Lakhdhir went to him (Pila) under the pretext of obtaining his permission for leaving the camp, and found opportunity to kill him there. His (Pila's) brother is seriously wounded and is sure to die soon. Further there were other five nobles with Pila, who have also been killed on the spot. At the same moment the cavalry also reached there and plundered the camp. 800 (riderless) horses were captured by our men and the others who fled to save their lives, were looted by Kolis at the bank of the Mahi. After this our army marched and camped at Bhadarva. As the enemy wanted to cross the river from this place, we made the local petty landlords responsible for checking their advance and they all acknowledged our sovereignty. After making all these necessary arrangements we again marched and encamped at Baroda on the 8th day of the bright half of Vaishakh (21st April 1732 A.D.). As the contingents of the enemy were encamped in the fortress of

Kandali village and 2 or 4 other places, we sent our detachment which drove them away from their shelters. Now all the troops of the enemy have assembled in village Koral on the bank of the Narbada and in the fortress of Dabhoi. He has with him a large army and there is also a rumour that Uma (the mother of Trimbak Rao) and Uda Panwar are coming from the rear to his help, but there is no danger on that score. We are going to punish the enemy and if Uma and Uda will come to his help they will also meet with the same fate. Your report acknowledging the receipt of the information of Pilu's death reached us and the informations which you conveyed regarding the pleasure of the Emperor, satisfaction of the Nawab, negotiations about the Jagir, etc., presenting Nazar to the Emperor and the services rendered by you on this occasion have been noted.

Do all the work satisfactorily, be friendly with Yadgarkhan, who is in favour of the Nawab, and also negotiate through Jain saint. Try to please both of them and keep them friendly.

Hold this cause of Jagir extremely important to all others.

It is our command.

Dated 13th day of the bright half of Vaishakh, Samvat 1788 (Chaitradi 1789) (26th April 1732 A.D.). Camp Baroda.

Some side-lights on the History of Benares, Political and Social, thrown by the Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar, Poona.

(By Dr. K. R. Qanungo, M.A., Ph.D.)

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the importance of the Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar as an indispensable contribution to the historical sources of India in the second half of the eighteenth century. We propose to consider here some of the extracts from the Selections throwing light on the history of Benares.

Balwant-nama of Khair-ud-din Allahabadi is the earliest contemporary chronicle of the present Benares Raj. We learn from it that down to the eighteenth century remnants of the great Gahadaval race were still ruling small principalities and the ruler of one of these had retained the unofficial title of King of Benares. Mansa Ram, the founder of the Benares Raj, though a Bhumihar Brahmin, traced his descent through the female line to one of these so-called kings of Benares. He started his career as a servant of Rustam Ali Khan, the *Nazim* of Benares under the Nawab Wazirs of Oudh. He secured a *nazimship* of sarkars Benares, Jaunpur, and Chunargarh in the name of his son Balwant Singh by betraying his own master. Mansa Ram died in 1739 and was succeeded by his more ambitious son Balwant Singh. But Mansa Ram's brothers resented it and demanded a share in the family possessions. One of them, Dasa Ram, fled from Benares and began to intrigue with the Muslim zamindars of the Shahabad district for overthrowing the power of Balwant Singh. But Khair-ud-din is silent on the relations of Balwant Singh with the Marathas and the Delhi Court. Kashi Bai, the mother of Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, who was on a pilgrimage to the sacred places of Northern India under an imperial safe-conduct, came to Benares in April 1747 with a strong Maratha escort. Dasa Ram took this opportunity to seek the protection of the Marathas which the kind-hearted lady could not refuse. But the affair took a political turn, and the Marathas perhaps thought

of using Dasa Ram's claim for some less pious object. Balwant Singh wrote to the imperial court complaining that Dasa Ram with his family had been taken along in the train of Kashi Bai, and that she had threatened to send a Maratha force against Balwant Singh if he did not give Dasa Ram half of his territory. The representation was backed by Nawab Safdar Jang's agent at Delhi. The Maratha agent, however, who like an ambassador of the Elizabethan age, "lay abroad to lie for his country's benefit", disavowed it and said that they had nothing to do with Dasa Ram, except that he was released from the prison of the Governor of Patna (*Patankar*) (Vol. 2, pp. 4-5).

The Maratha power was at this time being consolidated in Bundelkhand by Govind Pant Bundele, and so it is not unlikely that the Marathas would cast looks of pious greed on Benares. Though nothing came out of Dasa Ram's affairs, there is ample evidence in the Selections that the Marathas began since then to covet the possession of Benares. We get a glimpse of it in the following letter of the Peshwa's agent Vasudev Dikshit from Benares, who writes to Raghunath Rao (Dec. 1757 ?) :—

..... None before him (Balwant Singh) ruled Benares so well as Bariwand Singh (Balwant Singh) has been doing for the last fifteen years.....the Wazir (Imad-ul-mulk ?) issued a parwana granting this place to you, and the Rajah was also written to this effect. The Rajahshowed twenty-five letters [from the Wazir] not to give possession of it.....So you should renounce it. Till now the Rajah has saved this place.....people are panic-stricken and to them the Ganges is the last resort.....if you come personally it is all right ; otherwise please send ten or fifteen thousand horses under a Sardar as soon as this letter reaches you. When they will reach the neighbourhood the Rajah will also join them with five or seven thousand troops.....the Rajah should be saved.....Here people have no place to retire for safety ; when any calamity appears they with their families drown themselves in the Ganges.....An interview has taken place with me ; if he is helped ; he will be of much use in future.....the Rajah has sent also his petition (Vol. 27, No. 209). Perhaps it was in 1756 that the Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk played this game of duplicity with the Marathas. The invasion of Benares that was rumoured was evidently that of Imad-ul-Mulk himself who had been sent by the Abadali with Jang Baz Khan and two Mughal princes to re-occupy the Doab and overthrow the power of Shuja-ud-Daula (*Sarkar's Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 131—136).

Shuja-ud-Daula had invaded Benares in the beginning of 1757, put Balwant to flight, captured Latifpur, and granted peace to the Rajah by extorting an indemnity of twenty-five lakhs of rupees (Vol. 2, No. 170, 22nd March 1757). The Marathas had not given up their designs on Benares along with two other sacred places, Gaya and Allahabad. They reopened negotiations for securing a *sanad* for these places from the Wazir, Imad-ul-Mulk in 1759. But Imad-ul-Mulk, being friendly to Shujaud-Daula to whom Allahabad and Benares belonged, refused compliance with this demand. Besides at this time the Marathas were anxious to make the Ganges all along its course down to Benares, if not further down, their boundary, as the letter of Rajah Keshab Rao to the Peshwa suggests (Vol. 27, No. 240, dated 30th July 1759). This religious weakness which to a certain extent shaped the policy of the Peshwa cost the Marathas very dear in the long run ; because both the Ruhelas and the Nawab of Oudh, though natural and hereditary foes, could agree on one point, namely, to keep the Marathas to the south of the Ganges which was strategically essential for the defence of their respective possessions. Shuja-ud-Daula perhaps

would not have joined the Abadali if the Marathas had not entertained any such designs against this part of his territory.

Now something about the social and economic life of the city of Benares as reflected in the Selections :

Benares was in the eighteenth century, as in the twentieth, a city of Brahmins without any ostensible means of livelihood. Its people were timid and cowardly, preferring suicide with their whole families to manly risks in self-defence in times of danger. The temples and ghats were in a deplorable condition. The Maratha pilgrims and sojourners gradually formed a colony of their own in the city. It was perhaps from the time of the first Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath that the Maratha government undertook the restoration of temples and ghats in Benares. Letters of Sadashiv Naik to Baji Rao and Chimaji Appa written from Benares bear an account of the sad condition of ghats and temples, and also schemes of repair with estimate of expenses (Vol. 18, Nos. 36 and 37). Pancha-Ganga, Manikarnika and Dasashvamedh were the three important quarters of the city but without any good bathing ghat (Vol. 30, No. 131). This Sadashiv Naik was also a secret political agent, who kept the Peshwa informed about public opinion and the attitude of some influential Muslim nobles regarding the projected invasion of Delhi by Baji Rao I. Radha Bai visited Benares in 1736 and spent large sums in charity. One Narayan Dikshit writes that she made an unfair discrimination in distributing *dakshina*. . . . No Maharashtra (Deshastha Brahman) got a farthing ; whereas every Chitpavan got Rs. 5, 7 and even 10. . . . (Vol. 30, No. 147). The Peshwas were the first to build *Dharma-salas* and to endow free eating houses for Brahmins and other works of public utility in Benares. The price of land went high because Nagar Brahmins began to compete with the Marathas in buying it for religious purposes. The Government *haveli* or house of the Peshwa stood near Mangal-Gauri, where under orders from the Peshwa one blind saint Atmananda Saraswati was to be lodged (Vol. 43, No. 119). The Brahmins of Benares had their quarrels and mutual jealousy at that time as now. One Brahmin officiated in a sacrificial ceremony in the house of an Ambashta, and for this offence he was declared an outcaste by the Brahmins. Balkrishna Dikshit decided to re-admit that Brahmin to society after *prayashchit*, and this was opposed by one Lakhshman another Maratha Brahmin (Vol. 43, No. 122). The Patankar Dikshits of Benares belonged to the family of Baji Rao I's guru.

Maratha pilgrims were not so safe in their journey through Bihar as in other parts of India. Yesu Bai complains to Ragunath Rao of the ill-treatment that her party suffered in travelling from Gaya to Benares. " . . . Kamdar Khan charged Rs. 9-4-0 per head from us ; Rao Vishwanath Vaidya was taken away as security for Rs. 3,500 due by us. Men were killed and the Karkun received many wounds. . . . at Daudnagar and other *ohokis* one rupee per head was levied : Nandaram, Foujdar of Benares, also . . . took *zakat*. . . . we handed over to him the letter of Srimant Peshwa of which he took no notice." This ill-treatment of Maratha pilgrims roused a sort of crusading spirit among the Maratha chiefs and this sentiment was shared by their women also. A letter to Raghunath Rao, written probably by Kashi Bai, breathes this spirit ; she blesses Raghoba for his assurances that he would take her to Prayag after having freed that place from the enemy's control. Saguna Bai's party suffered even more during their journey through Bihar and the expenses of the pilgrimage of her party mounted to Rs. 65,000, of which she alone was to pay Rs. 10,000 (Vol. 18, No. 146). A letter of Mahipat Rao written to Peshwa Madhav Rao

dated 20th July 1772 describes Benares thus :—..... “the place is small ; Brahmins innumerable and number of the needy large..... Gangaputras are giving great trouble ;..... Brahmins are obdurate (in their demands) ”.... Elsewhere the same writer gives us an idea of the harassment of pilgrims by the Gavalis, and Gangaputras of Benares and the Pandas of Prayag, who are still notorious for their exactions and unscrupulousness. Only a few years back during one of our historical tours, one Panda of Benares offered to take my Muslim students around Hindu sacred places provided that they dressed as Hindus. Vices and hypocrisy were perhaps as rampant in Benares at this time as they were in the days of Kabirji who exposes them so vehemently in his *dohas*.

Benares in 1810 (?) witnessed some natural calamities and portents of nature ; one night in the month of Bhadra of that year “ shooting stars fell, fire broke out in the bazar and earth began to shake ; one old temple fell down and several houses cracked one day terrible roaring sound was heard ” (Vol. 43, No. 66). This letter also gives us a list of prices of food-stuff in different seasons in Benares ; rice of average quality sold at 16 to 22 seers per rupee, wheat 16 to 30 seers, gram 20 to 32 seers, molasses 14 to 16 seers, milk and curd 20 to 27 seers. Neither fish nor meat is to be found in the vegetarian’s list.

Verelst’s Observations on Shuja-ud-Daulah’s Character.

(By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D.)

The history of Shuja-ud-Daulah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, has yet to be written. He was one of those ambitious personalities of the 18th century, who figured prominently in the kaleidoscopic politics of Hindustan for a considerable period, and, as such, excited the jealousy, opposition, and even hatred of his rivals and enemies. This probably accounts for a good deal of exaggerated denunciation of his character by some of the contemporary observers.

The latest authoritative account of Shuja-ud-Daulah’s personality and career is to be found in Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s monumental work on “ Fall of the Mughal Empire ”. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has utilised all the relevant European and Indian sources in his monograph on the history of India in the XVIIIth century. While recently exploring the manuscript records of the Government of India at the Delhi Record Office in connection with my projected researches on Verelst’s Indian administration, I have incidentally come across stray passages in the contemporary Select Committee Proceedings and even Public Consultations which sometimes throw new light on the Nawab Wazir’s character and administration, and which may lead to a revision of some of the existing notions concerning that ruler.

According to Jean Law (*vide* his Memoire) whom Sir Jadunath Sarkar has quoted in his sketch of Shuja-ud-Daulah’s character (*vide* his Fall of the Mughal Empire, II, p. 531), the latter was no more than a worthless sensualist lacking even in ordinary courage and ability. To the author of the Imadus Saadat, who too has been referred to by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Shuja-ud-Daulah was a drunken debauchee. Marathi and Persian sources cited by the learned historian all corroborate the same description. One is thus naturally constrained to regard the Nawab Wazir’s character as despicable.

But, while it may be admitted that Shuja-ud-Daulah was not free from vice, it may be stated in fairness to him that judged from the moral standards of those days he need not be regarded to have been extraordinarily intemperate, or immoral. Intemperance and immorality were too common a vice among the Indian potentates of those days.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes, " But Shuja's fairly successful conduct of revenue and war was due entirely to the band of able and devoted generals and civil administrators that clung to his house." (*Vide Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, p. 532, foot-note.) While this estimate is not far from the truth, it may be pointed out on the basis of English records that with all his vices, Shuja-ud-Daulah was himself a talented and enterprising administrator, and his success must not be ascribed entirely to his officials, as it was no less due to his own ability, ambition, and enterprise. Verelst has expressly declared in the course of his observations which have passed unnoticed, ". . . . he (Shuja-ud-Daulah) plans, directs, oversees, and executes everything himself".

From Verelst's letters and minutes it appears that Shuja-ud-Daulah had many good qualities in him, though, according to Verelst himself, they were marred by his boundless ambition, extreme vanity, and excessive impatience. Thus an accurate idea of his character and rule can be had only when the contemporary and unexplored English records preserved in the Imperial Record Office at Delhi, and in the India Office at London are thoroughly examined and utilised.

Students of Indian History need not be reminded that the scholarly paper on "Shuja-ud-Daulah" contributed in 1926 by Nawabzada Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, to the Indian Historical Records Commission (*vide Proceedings*, Vol. IX) is an excellent pioneer work in this direction, and will be a source of great help to future research workers. A few of the important English records of Verelst's time are quoted below to illustrate their importance. It may be pointed out here that Verelst was a shrewd observer as well as good judge of character, and his remarks bear the unmistakable stamp of sincerity and conviction.

* * * * *

SOME EXTRACTS FROM VERELST'S LETTERS.

" If gratitude can be any tie on an Hindostan heart, we have every reason to consider him as connected with us by the most indissoluble bonds. His dominions, except the Zamindary of Bulwant Sing, lie on the north of the Ganges, and extend to the hills ; and, though they are more thinly peopled than is common in this country, have been so much improved by his late regulations in them, as to produce annually near one crore and twenty-five lacks of rupees.

His increase of the strength has kept pace with his increase of revenue. He has nearly eleven battalions of sepoys of all sorts, a good body of horse, and has made considerable additions to his artillery and magazines ; but, as his whole revenue can never support a force which can be really formidable to us, so it will always be in our power to direct the force he has to such purposes as may best conduce to the interest of the Honourable Company and the general peace.

The Nabob's education, and perhaps disposition have led him to be vain, aspiring, and impatient. He is active, but desultory; his judgment rather acute than

sound ; and his generalship and policy more plausible than solid. From pride, or jealousy, he is afraid to employ men of abilities or rank, in the several departments of his government ; he plans, directs, oversees, and executes everything himself ; so that the multiplicity of business, and his daily increasing infirmities oblige him to leave his best designs imperfect and crude.

His ambition, it is true, is always inciting him to form new projects, but his volatility induces him to be continually abandoning some, and his impetuosity often renders the remainder abortive. In a word, from a most careful review of his character and conduct, he seems a much proper instrument to accomplish the Company's main point, the maintaining themselves the umpires of Hindostan, than an enemy, who, from his strength or situation, could give them any material uneasiness or trouble." (Letter, dated Fort William, March 28, 1768).

* * * * *

" When we considered the very rapid progress he has lately made in his levies of troops ; his extraordinary vigilance in the discipline of his army ; the reports which we have received of his inviting auxiliaries into his service, at a time when perfect tranquillity seemed to reign throughout the empire, the connections he is forming with different powers ; the establishing a foundry, which has already supplied him with a quantity of cannon for field service ; and his amazing improvement in the making of small arms, which are by no means inferior in quality to the very best exported to India : all these were circumstances which naturally demanded our most serious attention, and compelled us to resolve upon losing as little time as possible in arriving to some degree of certainty with regard to his future designs." (Letter, dated Fort William, April 10, 1768).

* * * * *

" The character of the Nabob-Vizier was never thoroughly known till his connections with us. His enterprising genius, his high spirit, his plausible policy, are all sullied, if not entirely obscured, by opposite blemishes ; for, with these, he is inconstant, ostentatious, and impetuous. His military spirit has received a severe mortification in the late defection of his best battalions ; no doubt, it has abated the ardour of his expectations, and given birth to other ideas than those of foreign aggrandisement and conquest.

Experience has shewn us that this prince possesses no firmness nor solidity. However high his demands trifling concessions, provided they speak to his passions, will mollify him. His expressions may be boasting, but they do not lead to action. If, therefore, we sooth his vanity, and manage his foibles in trifles, we may lead, or even dictate, in essentials." (Letter, dated Fort William, December 16, 1769).

* * * * *

From the English records of Verelst's period the following facts appeared to me particularly noteworthy :—

- (i) In the first place, Shuja-ud-Daulah was a sagacious financier, as his revenue regulations and administration show. It is a pity that Verelst does not specify the aforesaid regulations.
- (ii) In the second place, he did not trust his own officials, and supervised every detail personally.

- (iii) In the third place, all his schemes were generally initiated by himself.
- (iv) In the fourth place, his military organisation and reforms were praiseworthy.
- (v) In the fifth place, his encouragement of the manufacture of cannon and small arms places him above the common run of Indian rulers of those days. His enterprise in this respect is comparable to that of Mir Qasim. It is likely that Shuja-ud-Daulah may have been inspired by the latter's successful venture in this direction.
- (vi) In the sixth place, Shuja-ud-Daulah's character was not altogether vile and despicable.

An Account of the Early European Indigo Planters in Bhagalpur.

(By K. K. Basu, M.A.)

Indigo formed the chief item of manufacturing production in the district of Bhagalpur in the latter half of the eighteenth and the whole of the nineteenth centuries. An official report under date 18th April 1798, connected with the production of indigo in the district of Bhagalpur, states that in the five parganas of the district, viz., Bhagalpur, Colgong, Curruckpore, Monghyr and Soorajegurrah, the amount of land under indigo cultivation was more than 1,321 bighas, and the estimated value of indigo manufactured therefrom amounted to Sicca Rs. 14,961. The above mentioned document shows that, the indigo fields measured highest in Monghyr, after which came Curruckpore and Colgong. The position of pargana Bhagalpur was then fourth in the list. But about three decades later, indigo cultivation greatly increased in the Bhagalpur pargana and the quantity of land under indigo cultivation rose from 82 bighas in 1,798 to 1,821 bighas.

The following pages deal with the early European indigo planters in the Bhagalpur district. The official records and documents preserved in the archives of the District Officer's record room form the chief source of our information. This paper furnishes a statement of indigo plants and factories and their situations, the amount of land attached to each and the date of authority in each case.

It is to be observed that the paper covers a period of about four decades commencing from 1793 A.D., the earliest date in the History of indigo plantation in Bhagalpur, and ending with 1830, and that among the indigo planters most were English by nationality, a few being Polish, Italian, Scotch or Irish. There is a reference to about thirty-five European planters and thirty-eight sites where indigo was cultivated and manufactured in the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries. For the sake of convenience, the names of the planters have been arranged in the alphabetical order.

1. *Arrouch, F.*—Manager of the Jumoonee Estate, Maharajpur Factory, Rajmahal, 1844.

2. *Bentinc, James.*—Owned in 1830 indigo factories at Muskipur (thana Gogri, Monghyr), Bysah (Bhagalpur Pargana) and Doomurreah (thana Amarpur) with a total of 4,560 bighas of land. It is reported that, the total number of native establishment permanently kept up all the year round was 75 and the number of servants entertained during the growing and manufacturing season was 1,650.

3. *Bethune, John.*—Native home, Scotland; possessed indigo concerns at Pointy (Pirpointy); a resident of the district since 1784.

4. *Blood, Thomas Share.*—An Irishman, possessing in 1824 an indigo factory in the district.

5. *Chesterman, J.*—Resided at Lakhipur near Rajmahal in 1810 and was connected with an indigo concern of that place.

6. *Christian, M. J.*—An inhabitant of Poland; possessed in 1827 twenty bighas of land at Monghyr with a house and an indigo factory on it, three bighas at Laloo Pookur with an indigo factory and also seven bighas at Jahangeera (near Sultanganj) with an indigo plant.

7. *Craddock, N.*—Owner of an indigo factory at Shabegunj in 1830.

8. *Davidson, P.*—Was the proprietor of the following indigo factories and lands: in 1821 twenty bighas of land at Lattypur; in 1822 eleven bighas of land at Bhagalpur, nine bighas at Tarapur (Monghyr), two bighas at Colgong, thirty-two bighas at Delarabad and nine bighas at Malkrishna.

9. *Davidson, Robert.*—Owner of the following indigo factories in 1811: Lattypur, twenty bighas (date of authority, 16th August 1793); Aujmabad (thana Colgong), fifty bighas of land (date of authority, 14th January 1812); Bysah, fifty bighas (date of authority, 14th January 1812); Augurpur (thana Bhagalpur), twenty-one bighas (date of authority, 1809).

In 1814, in addition to Bysah mentioned above, Davidson owned Muskipur (thana Gogri, Monghyr) eighteen bighas and three cottahs (date of authority, 14th January 1814) and Colgong, two bighas (date of authority, 14th January 1814).

The same year, i.e., in 1814, Davidson possessed in joint ownership with Murchison the following indigo concerns, viz., Bhagalpur, eleven bighas (date of authority, 1st February 1793); Colgong, thirty-two bighas and nine cottahs (date of authority, 16th August 1793); Lattypur twenty bighas (date of authority, 16th August 1793); Aujmabad (thana Colgong) fifty bighas; Augurpur, twenty-one bighas; Tarapur, nine bighas; Bhawanipur (thana Colgong), eighteen bighas (14th January 1812); Goghnullah, ten bighas (14th January 1812).

10. *Draper, James.*—Held in 1830 indigo factories at Tarapur, Chohurun and Choisa. The total amount of land under indigo cultivation was 5,000 bighas: the number of native establishment kept up the year round was 28 and the number of servants, etc., entertained during growing and manufacturing season was 25,193.

11. *Field, George.*—Proprietor of an indigo factory at Pealapur in 1830.

12. *Glass, C.*—Was born in India. In 1829 he possessed the following indigo concerns, viz., Bhagalpur with 35 bighas of land (date of authority, September 1790 and 1st March 1793); Colgong, fifty bighas (date of authority, 18th November 1791); Pealapur (Colgong), fifty bighas (date of authority, 1st March 1793); and Gorghaut (thana Sultanganj), fifty bighas (date of authority, 11th January 1795). He had also indigo plants at Sultanganj in 1834.

13. *Glass, John.*—Was appointed surgeon of the Invalid Establishment, Bhagalpur, on 25th February 1793, became the Agent Contractor for building the jail at

Bhagalpur in 1804. In 1802 Glass held the following lands with indigo plants erected on each, *viz.*, Bhagalpur, sixty bighas on Fee Simple tenure and lease (date of authority, 1st November 1793); Colgong, fifty bighas on Suit Rent tenure (date of authority, 1st November 1793); Pealapur, fifty-five bighas (date of authority, 1st November 1793); Pointy, twenty-five bighas (date of authority, 18th November 1794) and Gorghaut, fifty bighas.

14. *Glass, Walter Shirling*.—Assistant to his father Dr. Glass in the manufacture of indigo in 1798.

15. *Hasted, F. D.* In 1795 he held in joint proprietorship with Creighton the indigo concern at Sera Singh (near Rajmahal) with twenty-five bighas of land attached to it (date of authority, 3rd September 1793). He afterwards purchased Creighton's share of the concern. In 1804 he owned twenty bighas of land with indigo cultivation at Beergachee (thana Katoria Banka) (date of authority, 7th July 1797), twenty bighas at Puttourah in 1808 (date of authority, 7th July 1797), twenty-five bighas at Lakhipur (Rajmahal) in 1820 (date of authority, 7th July 1797).

16. *Hasted, G.*.—Held twenty-five bighas of land with a house and indigo factory on it at Sera Sing (Rajmahal) in 1827. (Date of authority, 3rd September 1793).

17. *Havers, R.*.—In 1818 he jointly owned with Turner the following indigo plantations, *viz.*, Colgong, twenty-four bighas and five cottahs (date of authority, 16th August 1793) and Aujmabad, fifty bighas (date of authority, 14th January 1812). In 1820 Messrs. Havers and Turner possessed twenty-six bighas of land at Bhagalpur with indigo concern (date of authority, 11th January 1812).

18. *Hay, James*.—Scotchman: in 1795 an opium contractor and indigo manufacturer; brother of John Hay.

19. *Hay, John*.—A free merchant, held in 1799 fifty-three bighas and fourteen cottahs of land at Bhagalpur with indigo cultivation (date of authority, 1st February 1793), thirty-two bighas and nine cottahs at Colgong with houses, offices, bungalows, and different sets of indigo works constructed.

Of this land twenty-two bighas and nine cottahs were occupied by a barren hill on the summit of which a small house was erected. It was held under a lease from the proprietor in the name of J. Grant, who made it over to J. Hay.

Of the land purchased at Bhagalpur forty-two bighas and fourteen cottahs were attached to a house built in 1780 by W. C. Cockrell who sold them to M. Davis and the latter again to Hay.

In 1811 John Hay owned in partnership with S. Murchison the Colgong concern.

20. *Homfray, Jeremiah*.—An Irishman, who in 1829 held a small indigo establishment at Coah, which he ultimately sold to Gangagovind Bose.

21. *Johnson, Arthur*.—Possessed in 1825 forty-one bighas of land at Bhagalpur (date of authority, 1st February 1793); in 1827, he held two bighas of land at Colgong, and thirty-two bighas at Delarabad (date of authority, 1st January 1814) and nine bighas at Malkrishna with indigo factories at the last two mentioned places.

In 1830, Arthur Johnson was connected with the indigo cultivation at Lattypur with 4,500 bighas of land attached to it. The number of his native establishment permanently kept up all the year round amounted to 18 and those entertained

during growing season 19,706. Arthur's indigo plantation at Bhagalpur measured 3,600 bighas in 1830; here the number of his permanent establishment was 19 and temporary establishment 26,472. In connection with the Bhagalpur concern Arthur had 2 Europeans and 2 Indo-Britons as his general assistants.

22. *Murchison, S.*—Held in partnership with J. Hay the indigo concern at Colgong in 1811, and in 1814 he held other indigo factories jointly with R. Davidson.

23. *Oliver, John.*—Indigo merchant at Bhowanipur in 1830. The amount of land under indigo cultivation was 1,500 bighas. The number of permanent and temporary establishments were 28 and 4,104 respectively.

24. *Porter, A.*—Indigo manufacturer at Gangaparsad (thana Gogri, Monghyr in 1793.

25. *Pottulo, R.*—In 1827 he held the following indigo factories, viz., Bysah with fifty bighas of land, Muskipur with eighteen bighas and three cottahs, Domaria with eleven bighas and Thulwaria (Colgong) with sixteen bighas. The date of authority for all the three is 14th January 1812.

26. *Pottulo, W.*—Owner of an indigo factory at Muskipur (thana Gogri, Monghyr) in 1821.

27. *Rairy, Neal.*—Indigo planter at Deodaur (thana Banka) in 1814.

28. *Rice, T. B.*—Of Neemtullah indigo factory, Rajmahal, 1834.

29. *Ross, Thomas.*—Was an indigo planter of Phulwaria and Survaylah in 1830.

30. *Russell, H. P.*—Was an indigo manufacturer at Rajmahal in 1822, became in 1826 Joint Magistrate of Monghyr.

31. *Sarson, Charles.*—Was in 1830 the owner of Nurdah, Khanjarpur and Poorani Sarai (thana Bhagalpur) indigo concerns. At Nurdah, 1,300 bighas of land were under cultivation, at Khanjarpur 1,000 bighas and at Poorani Sarai 1,200 bighas. The total number of permanent establishment at these above three places 49 and those temporary 14,337.

32. *Shaw, W.*—Owner of an indigo factory at Deodaund with forty bighas of land in 1827 (date of authority, 8th July 1814).

33. *Smith, John Baille.*—Was in 1830 proprietor of indigo factories at Baniagaon (Colgong), Rajmahal, Sutlanganj, and Bariarpur. The total amount of land under cultivation was 14,691 bighas. The number of permanent establishment was 129 and temporary 2,761.

34. *Turner, Edward.*—Was a surgeon to the garrison at Monghyr. He held in 1802, 2,862 bighas and 5 cottahs of land at Monghyr of which five bighas were used for indigo works and the rest to the cultivation of the plant.

35. *Turner, John Luttebury.*—Held in 1802 eighteen bighas of land at Bhagalpur (date of authority, 11th January 1812) and ten bighas at Ghoga (date of authority, 11th January 1812) with houses and indigo factories erected at both places.

In 1825 he held twenty-four bighas and five cottahs at Colgong (date of authority, 16th August 1793). In 1827 he owned fifty bighas at Aujmabad (date of authority, 14th January 1812) and twenty-one bighas at Augurpur (date of authority, 14th January 1812).

In 1830 he possessed factories at Colgong, Ghoga, Augurpur (thāna Bhagalpur), Lakhipur (Rajmahal), Ekdurrah (Colgong), Miranpur (Colgong) and Ajuma (Colgong). The total land under cultivation at these places amounted to about 15,400 bighas. The number of permanent hands was 179 and those of temporary 25,471.

Some Unpublished Documents relating to the Conspiracy of Wazir Ali.

(By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D.)

For a scientific study of the history of Modern India, the manuscript records preserved in the government record rooms at different places form a valuable source of information. These are full of minute details regarding the different aspects of the history of our country—political, administrative, economic and social. Since 1934, I have been engaged in sorting a number of files of unpublished English and Persian records (dating from 1790-1900), preserved in the record room of the District Judge of Patna, for storage in the library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, and have already published two papers (¹), from the study of some of these records, in the Indian Historical Quarterly of 1935 and 1936. Recently, I could discover in these files a few letters relating to the conspiracy of Wazir Ali against the English East India Company in 1798-99. A Persian manuscript entitled 'Mirāt-ul-Ahwal' by Akā Ahmad Bahbahni, who came to India in 1202 A.H. (1787 A.D.) and made himself fairly acquainted with the facts of the political history of India during the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, has also supplied me with some important details regarding Wazir Ali (²).

Since the time of Warren Hastings, the buffer state of Oudh had a strategic importance for the Company, whose interests demanded that it should be made a strong barrier of defence in the north-western frontier of Bengal against the apprehended incursions of the Marathas and the Afghans. Thus, even Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, who tried to follow the policy of non-intervention as laid down in clause 34 of Pitt's India Act, interfered in Oudh affairs. After the death of Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah of Oudh in 1797, Sir John Shore intervened in the matter of a disputed succession between Wazir Ali, whom Asaf-ud-daulah had acknowledged as his successor, and the deceased Nawab's eldest brother Saadat Ali. He raised the latter to the throne and concluded a treaty with him on the 21st January 1798, which considerably enhanced the Company's influence. It is interesting to note that this arrangement was effected with the support of some nobles of the Oudh Court like Taffazul Husain Khan (agent of the Oudh Nawab in Calcutta), Husain Reza Khan and others, all of whom were friends of the Company, and the Begam of the late Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah was persuaded by Sir John Shore to acquiesce in it (³).

Wazir Ali was allowed to reside at Benares on an annual pension of a lac and a half of rupees. He was naturally dissatisfied with the arrangement and spent his days at Benares in sullen discontent. In Oudh, the rule of the new Nawab did not produce any beneficial results for the country. In all respects, there were "embarrassment and disorder. The British subsidy was always in arrear, while

(¹) A. Some unpublished papers relating to Indo-British Administration and History, 1790-98.
B. Some unpublished papers relating to the Mutiny of 1857-59.

(²) I have consulted the copy belonging to Shad, a famous poet of Patna city, who died a few years back. There is also a copy of this work in the Oriental Public Library, Patna. .

(³) *Mirāt-ul-Ahwal*.

the most frightful extortion was practised in the realisation of the revenue. Justice was unknown ; the army was a disorderly mass, formidable only to the power whom it professed to serve. The evils of native growth were aggravated by the presence of an extraordinary number of European adventurers, most of whom were as destitute of character and principle as they were of property ”⁽⁴⁾.

Deprived of peace and order due to the prevalence of flagrant administrative abuses, Oudh fell an easy victim to Wellesley’s imperialism. Lord Wellesley wrote a private letter to Mr. John Lumsden, the Company’s Resident at Oudh, on the 23rd December, 1798, wherein he expressed his determination to take possession of the Doab with a view to strengthen the Company’s north-western frontier, to substitute in place of the Nawab’s troops “an increased number of the Company’s regiments of infantry and cavalry, to be relieved from time to time, and to be paid by his Excellency”, and “to dislodge from Oudh every European, excepting the Company’s servants”.

The Governor-General also wanted to remove Wazir Ali from Benares, as the military force stationed there was not considered sufficient “to guard against the danger either of commotion or escape” and as he suspected that Wazir Ali had sent a *vakil* with presents to Zaman Shah, the ruler of Kabul, who threatened an invasion of Hindusthan⁽⁵⁾. As a matter of fact, as the author of *Mirāt* writes, Wazir Ali sent to Zaman Shah an agent named Mulla Muhammad, son of Imam Quli Rauza Khan, who was one of the pupils of the grandfather of the author. Wazir Ali had previous acquaintance with Mulla Muhammad, as he was for some time tutor of Asaf-ud-daulah. Mullah Muhammad set out on his mission with a sealed letter from Wazir Ali to Zaman Shah and furnished with precious jewels and necessary equipments worth about 50 lacs. But his journey was soon known to the English and, when he had advanced upto Attock, they wrote to the Rajah of that place, apparently a friend of the Company, to capture him and to send his papers to Calcutta. The Rajah acted as desired by the Company. He killed Mulla Muhammad, took possession of his equipments and sent his papers to Calcutta. Wazir Ali was then summoned to Calcutta ; he was informed of the fate of his agent and was shown his letter to Zaman Shah. But he pleaded ignorance about Mulla Muhammad’s journey. The English letters, studied here, also disclose that Wazir Ali was trying to organise a conspiracy against the Company and had some of his confederates in Bihar. He also sent agents even to Calcutta, Dacca and Murshidabad, probably with a view to combine with Nawab Nasir-ul-mulk of Murshidabad and his ambitious brother-in-law Shams-ud-daulah, who too, with a view to obtain the “effective soobadarri of the three provinces”, had been engaged in a conspiracy against the Company and had deputed an agent to Zaman Shah⁽⁶⁾. Thus some disaffected Muslim rulers and nobles were trying to secure the help of their co-religionist Zaman Shah in order to restore their lost powers.

When under the orders of the Governor-General, Mr. G. P. Cherry, the British Resident at Benares, communicated to Wazir Ali that he should remove himself to the vicinity of Calcutta, the latter decided to “accomplish the meditated revenge” on the Company. Outwardly he at first manifested no sign of dissatisfaction and

⁽⁴⁾ Thornton, *History of the British in India*, Vol. III, p. 162.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.* p. 165 ; Wellesley’s letter to the Court of Directors, dated 12th February, 1799, quoted in Martin’s *Wellesley Despatches*, Vol. I, pp. 129—32.

⁽⁶⁾ For details for this conspiracy, *vide* a letter from Mr. N. B. Edmonstone to Lord Teignmouth, published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1937.

arranged to meet Mr. Cherry at a breakfast. But on visiting Mr. Cherry's house with a number of comrades on the 14th January, 1799, he perpetrated a horrible, massacre of a few Englishmen, like Mr. Cherry, Captain Conway, Mr. Robert Graham and Mr. Richard Evans; Mr. Hill, a trader, was dangerously wounded (⁷). Mr. Davis, Judge and Magistrate of Benares, gallantly defended his bungalow with the assistance of a party of troops sent to his relief by General Erskine (⁸). Wazir Ali then retired to his residence, but soon escaped out of the city with most of his chief adherents in the evening of that day (⁹), evading capture by the British troops.

Since the flight of Wazir Ali, no disturbance whatever occurred in any part of the Benares district; the city of Benares was then "in a state of perfect tranquillity, the inhabitants following their customary occupations, with the bazars all open and attended as regularly as usual by the country people" and there was "no cause to apprehend the renewal of attempts to disturb the public peace, either in behalf of Vizier Ally or of any other person" (¹⁰).

The movements of Wazir Ali remained unknown for a few days, but the Governor-General took prompt and vigorous measures for his capture. It was suspected that he "may attempt to make his escape to Zaman Shah". Mr. G. H. Barlow, Secretary to the Government, therefore, wrote to Mr. John Lumsden, Resident at Lucknow, on the 20th January, 1799, to persuade Saadat Ali to "lose no time in issuing such orders as may appear most effectual for intercepting Vizier Ally if it should be his object to repair to that prince (Zaman Shah)" (¹¹), and to offer a reward for the apprehension of Wazir Ali or any of his adherents, who had been implicated in the late horrible transaction at Benares (¹²). The civil authorities and Major General Erskine were authorised to offer, on behalf of the Company, "a reward of twenty thousand rupees for the apprehension of Wazir Ali, dead or alive" (¹³). The amount of this reward was soon raised to fifty thousand rupees. The Nawab of Oudh also offered the same sum besides "the sum of ten thousand rupees for the apprehension of Waris Ally and Izzut Ally, Vizier Ally's principal accomplices" (¹⁴).

At the same time, the Company's Government adopted necessary measures for the capture and punishment of the adherents of Wazir Ali in Bihar. Mr. Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna (¹⁵), was ordered to apprehend Rajah Jhao Lal and his dependant Balukrani, who were suspected of being in league with Wazir Ali, probably because of their previous intimacy with him in Oudh, and to keep them in close custody (¹⁶). They were, however, soon found to be innocent and al-

(⁷) *Vide* letter No. 1, quoted below.

(⁸) Thornton, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 167.

(⁹) Letter No. 1, quoted below.

(¹⁰) *Ibid.*

(¹¹) *Vide* letter No. 2, quoted below.

(¹²) *Ibid.*

(¹³) *Ibid.*

(¹⁴) *Vide* letter No. 12, quoted below.

(¹⁵) He succeeded Mr. G. F. Grand as Magistrate of Patna in 1792 and held this office till 1830.

(¹⁶) *Vide* letters Nos. 3 to 6 and No. 8, quoted below. We get details about Jhao Lal's career in Mirat-ul-Ahwal and some other unpublished Patna records (English). Jhao Lal, son of Lala Gulab Ray, a Saksena Kayastha, was originally a favourite attendant of Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah. Subsequently he rose to prominence in his court. But he was soon compelled to leave Lucknow and Benares because of certain intrigues against the Company and some nobles of the Oudh Court, and was allowed to reside at Patna, where a mahalla is named after him.

restraints, placed upon them, were removed (17). But several others, whom the Company suspected to be implicated in a conspiracy with Wazir Ali, were apprehended in course of a few months. They were Mollah Ally, "a secret agent" deputed by Wazir Ali to Calcutta in December (18), Suleman, who was sent by Wazir Ali to Mollah Ally, while the latter was in Calcutta, Mohuturim Ally Khan, son of Aslim Ally Khan, a *hakim* of Lucknow, one named Ismail (19), who went to Calcutta with Mullah Ally and Suleman, Syed Ashruff Ally Khan (also called Meer Yeheha Khan), Syed Fuzzul Ally, an inhabitant of Bihar, formerly employed in a particular office in Bihar, Mirza Jaun or Jaun Mirza "supposed to be an Armenian (20), or possibly a Mogul" (21), Khaja Yacoob, an Armenian merchant, with whom Suleman and Moola Ally were "connected at Patna" and through whom they carried on correspondence (22), Shah Ghulam Ahmad, a resident of Shekhpoorah (Shaikhpura), then employed at Patna under Maharaja Kalyan Singh (23), and one Shah Shems-ud-Deen Hossayn (24). Of these, Shah Ghulam Ahmad and Khajah Yacoob were released in August 1799 (25).

We know what ultimately happened to Wazir Ali from *Mirāt-ul-Āhwāl*, Mill (26) and Thornton (27). It was at first suspected by some that he had fled to Azamgarh (28). It is stated by Mill and Thornton that he found refuge in the territories of the Rajah of Bhutwal, a chief tributary both to the Rajah of Nepal and to the Wazir. There he was "joined by several disaffected Zamindars". Marquis Wellesley wrote later on the 22nd January, 1801, to the Resident at Lucknow, that "active and general support" was afforded to him by the subjects of the Nawab of Oudh. Being joined by several thousands of the discontented troops of Oudh, Wazir Ali advanced into Gorakhpur, where a skirmish took place between him and a detachment of the Company's troops. He was defeated and his followers abandoned him in large numbers, whereupon he took to his heels and found shelter with the Rajah of Jaynagar. This Rajah treacherously delivered him up to the Company, in return for a large sum of money, in the month of December, 1799. Wazir Ali was then carried to Calcutta and spent his last days as a captive at Fort William till his death in 1817.

The unpublished papers :—

1. "To obviate the effects of exaggerated reports, which may have arisen in consequence of what happened here on the 14th instant, I thought it necessary to inform you, that since the flight of Vizier Ally on the evening of that day, no disturbance whatever has occurred in my division, nor from the intelligence I have

(17) *Vide* letters Nos. 30 and 31.

(18) I. H. Q., March, 1937, p. 155.

(19) *Vide* letters Nos. 7 and 9 and 10.

(20) References to Armenian traders in Bengal during the 18th and 19th centuries are found in several records, including even the Census Report of 1872, a copy of which I could consult in the Collector's office at Patna.

(21) *Vide* letter No. 12, quoted below.

(22) *Vide* letter No. 17, quoted below.

(23) *Vide* letter No. 27, quoted below. Kalyan Singh was a son of Raja Shitab Ray and the author of *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh*.

(24) Same as note 8.

(25) *Vide* letter No. 32, quoted below. I have retained the spelling of these names as found in the records.

(26) Vol. VI, pp. 191-92.

(27) Vol. III, pp. 188-89.

(28) *Vide* letter No. 2, quoted below.

procured, in any other part of the Benares District ; that at present the city is in a state of perfect tranquillity the inhabitants following their customary occupations, with the bazars all open and attended as regularly as usual by the country people ; and that I have no cause to apprehend the renewal of attempts to disturb the public peace either in behalf of Vizier Ally or of any other person.

The following are the Europeans who fell victims to the assassins on the 14th instant :—

Mr. Cherry	}	Killed.
Captain Conway		
Mr. Robert Graham		
Mr. Richard Evans		

Mr. Hill (trader) Dangerously wounded ”.

(Letter from the Foujilary Magistrate of Benares, dated Benares City Court, the 18th January 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna).

2. “ You will no doubt have long since been apprized of the late melancholy occurrence at Benares, and of the flight of Vizier Ally.

From the intelligence received from the Magistrate of Benares, there is reason to suppose that Vizier Ally has fled to Auzumgur. If this intelligence should have proved authentic, there can be no doubt that Major General Erskine will have..... immediately pursued Vizier Ally ; and that you will have applied to Nabob Vizier to give orders to the Commanders of the Troops in the parts of his dominions bordering on Benares to cooperate with General Erskine for the apprehension of Vizier Ally and his adherents, and also for the suppression of any disturbances which he may attempt to excite in the country.

It is not improbable, however, that Vizier Ally may attempt to make his escape to Zumaun Shah. It will therefore be expedient that His Excellency the Vizier should lose no time in issuing such orders as may appear most effectual for intercepting Vizier Ally if it should be his object to repair to that prince.

You will also recommend to the Vizier to offer a reward for the apprehension of Vizier Ally or any of his adherents who were concerned in the late horrid transaction at Benares, and you will suggest to him the necessity of dispatching orders with all expedition for the apprehension of Vizier Ally to every part of his territories, so as to prevent his escaping into the dominions of any foreign power.

The Civil Authorities and Major General Erskine have been authorized to offer a reward of twenty thousand rupees for the apprehension of Vizier Ally alive or dead. ”

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Council Chamber, the 20th January 1799, to John Lumsden, Resident at Lucknow).

3. “ The Vice President in Council having reason to believe that Rajah Gaori Loll, formerly in the service of the late Vizier Assufud Dowlah, has been carrying on a correspondence with Vizier Ally, the Vice President in Council desires that you will apprehend Jaou Loll and his dependant Balukram, and keep them in close custody in a house which you will provide for that purpose.

ii. It should be an object of your particular attention to endeavour to obtain possession of the private papers of Jaou Loll and Balukram. To ensure the

accomplishment of this object, it will be necessary that your measure should be taken with the utmost secrecy.

iii. You will take Jaou Loll and Balukram into custody between the 17th and the 20th of next month, unless you should previously receive any application from the Magistrate at Benares to defer their apprehension to later date".

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, the 22nd February 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate at Patna).

4. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to desire that in the event of Vizier Ally not having been apprehended, you will increase the reward for his apprehension from twenty to fifty thousand rupees, and that you will issue the necessary publications accordingly".

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, the 27th February 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate at Patna).

5. "In a letter that I have just received from Col. Vannas Commanding at Gorroukpoor, he reports to me that people whom he had sent out for information had that day (the 22nd) returned to him—"and they" "met with two Piadas in their route returning" "from Patna who had carried letter from" "Vizier Ally to Jou Loll" in that city—the "real purpose of this expedition could not be learnt".

"It may be proper to apprise you that we have every reason to believe the former part of the report made by these people to Col. Vannas which relates to the situation of Vizier Ali at Bhituul to false, and therefore a strong doubt may exist as to their veracity in that which I have quoted. As however Jou Loll is a person who may reasonably be suspected of having entered with the views of Vizier Ally I have thought it would be proper to acquaint you with the circumstances that by communicating it to the proper Civil Servant of the Company at Patna, a watch might be kept on the conduct of the person alluded to".

[Letter from J. H. Craig (or Craigg), Officer Commanding at Dinafore, dated 25th February 1799].

6. "Having duly considered your letter of the 3rd instant with the several circumstances which gave rise to it, are of opinion that it will not be necessary for you to take any further steps with respect to Rajah Jaou Loll than those you have already adopted, unless some thing further comes out against him which make an alteration in your conduct advisable".

(Letter from C. Keating and M. Leslie, dated Patna Court of Appeals, the 6th March 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

7. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to desire that you will endeavour to apprehend the following persons if they should be found within the limits of your jurisdiction or any places adjacent.

Moollah Ally a secret agent deputed by Vizier Ally to Calcutta.

Mohturrim Ally Khan, the son of Moollah Ally.

Solymaun, a person deputed by Vizier Ally to Moollah Ally whilst he was at Calcutta.

You will endeavour also to secure the papers of these persons.

You will take your measures for the apprehension of these persons with the greatest secrecy, and you will not disclose these orders excepting to the agents whom you may employ for carrying them into effect".

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Council Chamber, the 18th March 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

8. "I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General to intimate to you His Lordship's desire that you will immediately take such measures as may be in your power without exciting the apprehensions or manifesting any suspicion of Rajah Jaoo Laul, for ascertaining the number and description of the persons composing his family and retinue, the nature and extent of his intercourse with persons of rank and condition at Patna, as well as of his foreign correspondence and connections; and report to me for the information of His Lordship the result of your enquiries, together with such further circumstances of his general conduct, condition and views, as you may be already acquainted with or may be able to ascertain. His Lordship further desires that under the same precautions you will continue to keep yourself informed upon the points above mentioned, as far as may be practicable.

I am further directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General to take the present occasion of intimating to you his surprise at Rajah Jaoo Laul's being suffered to repair to Calcutta without the permission of Government and without any intimation from you either of the Rajah's design or of his actual departure from Patna [where] you were officially informed that it was the pleasure of Government that he should reside.

In consequence of this omission the Rajah arrived in the neighbourhood of Calcutta before it was known to Government that he had quitted Patna, and his presence was the occasion of great trouble and embarrassment. His Lordship directs me to observe that, the pressure and importance of other public affairs has alone prevented him from conveying to you his sentiments upon this subject until now. His Lordship now instructs me to request that, hereafter, you will not allow Rajah Jaoo Laul to quit Patna upon any pretence whatever, without the permission of Government, to which end, on receiving notice of any such intention on his part, you will be pleased to signify to him the orders you have received, and require him to suspend it, until the pleasure of Government shall be known".

(Letter dated Fort St. George, the 26th March 1799, to Henry Douglas, Judge and Magistrate at Patna).

9. "I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed copy of a paper of information respecting the Agents and Vizier Ally at Calcutta.

(ii) From this paper you will observe that Mohterim Ally Khan is said to be the son of Aslum Ally Khan, and not of Mollah Ally.

(iii) You will endeavour to apprehend Aslum Ali Khan, Sullimaan and Ismail, if they are at Patna.

(iv) You will also endeavour to seize their private papers keeping their contents secret, and sending the originals to Calcutta after taking copies of them".

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, the 21st March 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

10. "From information received this morning I have reason to suppose that Sullimaan Moola Alli and Ismail have taken the route to Patna and as it must now be difficult if not impossible for them to join Vizier Ally, I think it very probable that they will endeavour to conceal themselves there.

Sullimaan is stated to be a tall stout man of fair complexion and about 35 or 40 years of age—Has five or six khitmugars in his employ.

Moola Alli about 50 years of age—tall and rather thin, fair complexion and round black beard.

Ismail was wounded in several parts of his baily (*sic.*), and carried one of his arms in a sling—These wounds are said to have been received in a family quarrel either at Benares or Lucknow shortly before he came to Calcutta, and were not cured when he went away."

(A true copy signed G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government).

Enclosure of the 21st March 1799.

MEMORANDUM.

11. Sullimaan or Aga Sullimaan arrived in Calcutta about three months ago from Benares—was supposed to be in the service of Vizier Alli, and to have brought with him 40,000 Rs. to purchase articles for Vizier Alli—about five or six days after the account of the Benares massacre reached Calcutta, Sullimaan went away intending as he said to return to Benares. Sullimaan during his residence at Calcutta associated chiefly with the Armenians—Is himself a Mussalmaan but said to be originally Armenian.

Moola Alli came to Calcutta and resided in the same house with Sullimaan.—Seven or eight days after Sullimaan's departure Moola Alli also left Calcutta giving out that he intended returning to Benares.

Ismail arrived in Calcutta with Sulliman and Moola Alli—went away with Sulliman.

Mohterim Alli son of Aslim Alli Khan Hakeem at Lucknow arrived in Calcutta about eight or nine months ago, stating that he had quarrelled with his father, and had therefore left him—after residing about two months at Colootola Mohterim Alli went to Dacca, and shortly after his departure Aslim Alli came to Calcutta in search as he said of his son.—Aslim Alli remained in Calcutta till about a month and a half ago, and then set out to return as he stated to Lucknow—whether the father and son corresponded or not is unknown, but shortly before the father left Calcutta Shiek Mooseeta Gomashta on the part of Almass Alli Khan, for managing his indigo concerns in Calcutta, received a letter from Mohterim Alli at Dacca, stating that he was going to Moorshedabad from whence he should proceed to Beerbboom, and return from thence to Calcutta.

(A true copy signed G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government).

12. "The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council desires that you will endeavour to apprehend Syed Ashruf Ally Khan Bahadur (also called Meer Yehcha Khan and Syed Fuzzul Ally) a person formerly employed in the.....Office in Behar and Mirza Jaun or Jaun Mirza supposed to be an Armenian, or possibly a Mogul.

(ii) These three persons have been employed by Shems-ud-dowlah in certain intrigues in Behar.

(iii) You will endeavour at the same time to secure the papers of these persons, keeping the contents of them secret, and forwarding the originals to Calcutta after keeping copies of them.

(iv) You will not disclose these or any other orders you may receive respecting the conspiracy of Vizier Ally and Shems-ud-dowlah farther than may be necessary for the guidance of the Agents you may employ in carrying them into execution".

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, dated Fort William, the 22nd March 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

13. "The Vice President in Council thinking it probable that Vizier Ally may endeavour to make his escape in disguise, directs that you take the most speedy and effectual measures for ensuring his apprehension, should he attempt to pass thro' your jurisdiction.

(ii) You will of course have made it known that this government have offered a reward of fifty thousand rupees for Vizier Ally's apprehension, and that the Nabob Vizier has offered the same sum, besides the sum of ten thousand rupees for the apprehension of Waris Ally and also Izzut Ally, Vizier Ally's principal accomplices".

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, dated Fort William, the 23rd March 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

14. "I enclose you extract of a letter from Mr. Secretary Barlow to me under date 22nd instant for your information and guidance should any of the persons be found in your jurisdiction.

(ii) I have reason to believe that Syed Fuzul Ally and Syed Ashruff Ally Khan Behadur, *alias* Meer Yeha Khan, are residents of Bykuntpoor in Behar.

(iii) I am uninformed of the family residence of Meerza Jaun Tuppas but he has been for several years in the service of the Nabob Nuzim at Moorshedabad and is well known at that place.

(iv) Tho' I have written to the Magistrate of Behar yet as Bykuntpoor is near Patna and all expedition should be used I would recommend your immediately taking measures to enforce the orders of Government".

(Letter from William Camac, Magistrate of the City of Dacca, dated the 25th March 1799, to H. Douglas, the Magistrate of Patna).

15. Paragraph iv. "The Vice President in Council also desires that you will apprehend Syed Fazzul Ally and Syed Ashruff Ally Khan Behadur (also called Meer Yehela Khan) and also the person called Merza Jaun endeavouring at the same time to secure their papers.

(v) If the above mentioned persons are not at Dacca, you will write without delay to the Magistrate in whose jurisdiction they may at present reside, to seize, and keep them in close custody, taking the necessary measures to secure their papers at the time of their apprehension. You are desired to keep the contents of all the papers which may fall into your hands secret.

(Extract from a letter from Secretary Barlow under date 22nd March, 1799).

16. "The Vice President in Council deeming it probable that the correspondence of some of the conspirators may be intercepted at the Post Offices you are hereby

authorised to apply to the Postmaster at Patna to send for your inspection any letter to or from the persons you have been directed to apprehend, as also the letters to or from any suspected persons.

You will forward to Government the originals of any letters connected with the subject of the conspiracy of Vizier Ally and Shumsud Dowlah, after taking copies of them.

You will communicate to the Postmaster the authority under which you apply to him to deliver to you the letters.

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, dated Fort William, the 25th March 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

17. "I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed copy of some intelligence respecting Solymaun and Moollah Alli, two of the agents of Vizier Ally, whom you were desired to apprehend.

(ii) You will also apprehend Khaja Yacoob, and endeavour to possess yourself of his private papers.

(iii) You will dispatch by dawk copies of any material papers which may fall into your possession, without delay, and afterwards send the originals.

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, dated the Fort William, the 29th March 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

MEMORANDUM—

Khuja Yacoob, an Armenian merchant, is stated to be the person with whom Suliman and Milla Alli are connected at Patna, and through whom, their correspondence is carried on. The person from whom this information was received has offered to convey a letter, and procure an answer from Sulliman.

(A true copy signed G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government).

18. "Syed Fuzul Ally one of the persons I wrote you respecting on the 25th ultimo I understand left Dacca in company with Mahomed Bukhs his relation about the 20th of March for Patna. He is the son of Shah Alif and resides, I am informed, in the city of Patna in the Choki opposite the House of Kumeca Lall Gundy near to the Hummums and to the house of babu Anderson or Henderson.

It would be of great importance if you could get possession of his papers at the same time you secure his person. I have no doubt but is now on his way to Patna tho' he may not arrive some time after you receive this letter.

The Vice President in Council has directed that the original papers be forwarded to Government after copies shall be made of them".

(Letter from William Camac, Magistrate of the City of Dacca, dated Dacca, the 1st April 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

19. "I beg leave to inform you that I have received orders from the Secretary to the Government to apprehend a person named Syed Fuzzul Ally and as I think it is not impossible he may proceed to Patna I do myself the honor to enclose you a description of his person and request you will be so obliging as to apprehend him together with the papers and seal found within your jurisdiction.

I have information of his having accompanied Syed Ashruf Ally Khan Behadur from Patna to this place, from hence they went to Calcutta and in Maug 1205 B. S. Syed Fuzzul Ally returned sick to Moorshedabad intending to go to his house;

which, I have heard from the Magistrate at Dacca, is he believes situated in Bykunt-poor in Behar. On his arrival here Syed Fuzzul Ally was prevailed on by Mirza Jaun Tuppenh to go to Dacca, and accounts of his arrival at Dacca were received by Mirza Jaun Tuppenh ; from Dacca he intended going to Calcutta but has not yet arrived there and I am induced to believe he is on his way either to this place, Calcutta or Patna ”.

(Letter from John Fendall, Magistrate of the City of Moorshedabad, dated Moorshedabad, the 2nd April 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

20. “ I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo.

(ii) You will immediately send Moollah Alli, Suliman and Ismail in strict custody under a proper escort, by water to Calcutta, giving directions to the officer commanding the escort, to take every necessary precaution against their escape, and to resist to the utmost any attempt to rescue them.

(iii) All the original papers you have seized must be sent to me by the same conveyance, although many of them may appear to you of no importance they may possibly throw light on other papers which have fallen into the possession of Government ”.

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Council Chamber, the 4th April 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna).

21. “ I transmit to you herewith by order of the Hon’ble Vice President in Council, descriptions of the persons of Vizier Ali, Waris Ali and Izzut Ali, that you may take such measures as may be thought most advisable to prevent their effecting their escape in disguise ”.

(Letter from J. Lumsden, dated Lucknow, the 5th April 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna).

22. “ I beg leave to inform you that I have this day received positive information that Syed Fuzzul Ally and Muhammad Baksh left Dacca about the 20th of last month professedly for Patna ”.

(Letter from John Fendall, dated Moorshedabad, the 6th April 1799 to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

23. “ I am directed by the Hon’ble the Vice President in Council to acquaint you that all the persons you were directed to seize except Fuzzul Ally have been apprehended. As it is of great importance that Fuzzul Ally should not escape you will continue your endeavours to apprehend him ”.

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, the 16th April 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

24. “ I have the honor to inform you that the Police officers of the Magistrate of Zillah Moorshedabad have apprehended Syed Fuzzul Ally and his companions ”.

(Letter from John Fendall, dated the City of Moorshedabad, the 18th April 1799, to H. Douglas Magistrate of the City of Patna).

25. “ I am directed by the Hon’ble the Vice President in Council to desire that you will seize the persons of Mufty Golaum Mukdoom and Shah Shamsuddeen Hussein with their respective papers and seals.

(ii) An impression of the seal of Mufty Golaum Muckdoom affixed to some papers in the possession of Government is enclosed.

(iii) You will have a memorandum endorsed on all the papers which may be found on these persons, specifying where, when and by whom the papers were found, in order that there may be no difficulty in the identification of the papers if necessary.

(iv) You will seal up the seals in paper, under own seal, and dispatch the papers and seals to Calcutta.

(v) You will send copies of any other papers which may appear to you of importance by dawk.

(vi) You will keep Golaum Mukdoom and Shah Shemsudeen in close custody".

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, the 20th April 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate at Patna).

26. "I am favoured with your letter under date the 15th instant and in reply beg leave to inform you that Mirza Jaun Tuppish has been apprehended by me and sent down to the Presidency sometime ago".

(Letter from John Fendall, Magistrate, dated the City of Moorshedabad, the 22nd April 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

27. "In consequence of orders from Mr. Secretary Burlow, copy of which is annexed, I wrote to the durogah of Shekhpoorah to seize the person of Shah Ghulam Ahmad with his papers and seals. It appears from the durogah's answer this day received that Shah Ghulam Ahmad is in reality a resident of Shekhpoorah, but at present a servant of Maharaja Culian Sing and with his son Koonwar Doulat Sing at Patna. Permit me therefore to request you will take the most secret and immediate steps towards complying with Mr. Burlow's orders; and in the meantime I shall again order his home at Shekhpoorah to be searched".

(Letter from A. Tufton, Magistrate of Behar, dated Zill Behar, the 13th May 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna).

28. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to desire that you will apprehend Shah Ghulam Ahmad son of Mukdoom Shah of Shaikh-pore and endeavour to secure his papers and seals.

You will be careful to have a memorandum noted on each paper specifying when, where and by whom it was found in order that there may be no difficulty in establishing the identity of the papers if necessary.

You will keep Shah Ghulam Ahmad in confinement till further orders.

You will keep copies of such of his papers as you may think of importance, and send the originals to me by dawk.

You will be careful to keep the contents of the papers which may fall into your possession secret".

(True copy of letter from G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, the 1st May 1799, to Alfred Tufton, Magistrate at Bihar).

29. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th ultimo, and to inform you that Puhliwan Sing Jamadar has delivered over to me the persons of Moullah Alli, Sulimaun, and Ismail, with the papers marked from A to F".

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, the 13th May 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna).

30. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to desire that you will withdraw the Guard placed over Rajah Jao Loll's House, and that you will inform him that he is no longer to consider himself under restraint.

(ii) You will also inform him that all his papers will shortly be returned to him.

(iii) In communicating the above orders to Rajah Jao Loll, you will acquaint him that it has afforded the Vice President in Council the greatest satisfaction to find that the suspicions which occasioned his being subjected to restraint have proved without foundation, and that he may rely with the fullest confidence on the future favour and protection of Government".

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, dated Fort William, the 25th July 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

31. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to desire that you will withdraw the Guard placed over Balluk Ram, at the same time informing him that he is no longer to consider himself under restraint.

You will likewise inform Bulluck Ram that his papers will be returned to him in a few days".

(Letter from John Stracey, Sub Secretary, dated Fort William, the 20th August 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

32. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to desire that you will release Shah Ghulam Ahmed, Shah Shams-ud-Deen Hossayn and Khajah Yacoob".

(Letter from G. H. Burlow, dated Fort William, the August 28, 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna).

Some Official Records of Mughal India.

(By Sri Ram Sharma, M.A.).

Climatic conditions, the anarchy that followed the disintegration of the Mughal empire in the eighteenth century, and the wars of different states with one another did not very much favour the preservation of official records of the Mughal period in India. Delhi, the principal Mughal capital, was several times captured and re-captured by various parties trying to use the prestige of the nominal emperor of India in their own service. Lahore and Agra shared the same fate. Various provincial capitals, when they became the seats of independent local dynasties, went through the same process. In Rajputana, the Marhatta attempt to include these states within their own orbit, and the civil wars that usually characterized the history of these states when left to themselves produced similar results. The results can be seen in the general destruction of the official records of the period.

Fortunately for the students of Mughal history, one state in Rajputana was spared these changes of fortune. Amber (modern Jaipur), the first to submit to Akbar's authority in the sixteenth century, managed to escape the usual fate of the various states in Rajputana and outside. Into the causes of this singular good fortune we need not very much enter here. It is for us to note the fact and the happy results that have followed from it. A large bulk of the official records of the state has been preserved. Of course white ants and other climatic conditions have been

at work ; the records long lay uncared for, stowed here, there and everywhere without any attempt at evaluating them. A singular good fortune enabled Sir Jadunath Sarkar not only to obtain access to this priceless collection of official records but to procure copies of several of them as well. Meanwhile a sorting and cataloguing of these papers in Jaipur was also begun with the result that till 1929 some 29,000 of these records had been catalogued by the state authorities. But the fates exhausted their favours at last. Not only was the supply of the copies of these records to Sir Jadunath stopped, access thereto was permanently denied to all scholars. Several attempts have since then been made to persuade the state to open its record office to genuine research scholars under conditions that usually prevail in such offices, but nothing has come of these attempts.

Meanwhile the twenty-five volumes of transcripts made for Sir Jadunath Sarkar have opened up new sources of information to us about the Mughal period. The most important of the documents thus made available have been described by Sir Jadunath, after the contemporary fashion, as Akhbarat, translated as News Letters or Court Bulletins.

The original term, as also its two translations, describes very inadequately the nature and the value of these unique documents. They can be more justly described as the ' Minutes of the proceedings of the Mughal Emperor in Court '. The Mughal Emperors maintained a set of ' Clerks of the Courts ' occupying a position very similar to that of the Clerk of the Privy Council in the Tudor times. Two of them were on duty every day by turn. Their function consisted in taking down the proceedings of the Court. Every request publicly made, every paper openly presented in the court, every order issued by the Emperor, and all enquiries made by him were taken down by the Clerk on duty at the time. It was usual to read the minutes of the proceedings thus recorded next day in the open court. The place that these records occupied in the administrative machinery of the state can be well understood by the fact that no *Farman* (royal order) could be issued unless the Clerk of the Court on duty certified—of course by a reference to his record of these proceedings—that it had been actually passed by the Emperor in the terms set forth therein. This was not a formal affair. The certificate had to be recorded in the *Farman* itself and the body of the *Farman* bore witness that the order it embodied had been passed by the Emperor when such a Clerk of the Court was on duty. Not only that, the embossing of the *Farmans* on the paper used for them and their sealing in the proper manner usually took several days, if not months. Very often their recipients, if at Court, would wait for all this time and take home the *Farmans* with them. But sometimes it happened that they were in a hurry and would not wait for the formal *Farman* to be prepared and handed over to them. This happened very often in connection with the officials newly entering upon their duties and unable to wait for the receipt of the formal royal orders for their Jagirs. It was customary, then, for them to obtain a certified copy of the royal order as recorded by the Clerk on duty with the supplementary orders passed in the same connection by the Ministry of Finance specifying the Jagir that they were to receive. They would then present this certified copy to the local revenue officials, present an affidavit that the royal order was being prepared and would soon follow, and execute a security bond that if the order did not come, they would be responsible for damages and dislocation of administration. Thereupon the local officials would allow them to enter upon the possession of their *Gagirs*.

These minutes of the proceedings of the Court, thus formed a very important part of the Mughal system of maintaining official records. Fortunately for us there does not seem to have been any secrecy observed with regard to these proceedings till very late in the reign of Aurangzeb. As they were being read the next day for confirmation by the Emperor, in the open court, the agents of the various high public officials stationed in the Mufassil would cause them to be taken down by their scribes and transmit them in batches or sometimes singly to their principals outside the capital. As they were being copied down they became the Akhbarat, the News, of the imperial court. As they were transmitted through messengers they next became News Letters. It is in this form that we meet them in the Record Office, Jaipur; copies of the minutes of the Emperor in Court made for the Rajas of Jaipur, and sent to them through messengers by their agents at the imperial court.

A word about the shape in which they were transmitted. The occurrences of a single day would naturally be taken down separately on a single sheet of paper or sometimes when the minutes of a particular day would not be finished on one sheet, another sheet would be used for the purpose of concluding the narration. Now every sheet used for the copies bore at the head the words *Akhbarāt-i-Darbar-i-Mu'ala*, then would come down below the day of the week, the date, or the month, the regnal year of the sovereign. Naturally when a second sheet was used the formal heading reappeared again on it as well. Thus the copies of these minutes found in the Record Office, Jaipur, consist of single sheets usually but sometimes more than one sheet have also been used.

All these copies lay in the Jaipur Record Office originally. Tod, however, removed a part of them to England where they now repose in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. Taking the MSS. at Jaipur and London together we have all that is left to us of these records of the Mughal Court. They include copies of the proceedings of the imperial court usually, but we have a series of sheets dealing with the viceregal court at Gujarat, and another with the viceregal court at Agra.

Through the courtesy of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, I have been able to examine this invaluable store-house for the history of the reign of Aurangzeb in the transcriptions made for Sir Jadunath, now preserved in his library at Darjeeling. The following description of these records is based on my examination of these documents carried on during the course of my three visits to Darjeeling.

At present we possess the Akhbarat for the regnal years, 20, 24, 25, 28, 31, 32, 33, 36, 40 and 43 to 51 of Aurangzeb's reign, some 5772 pages in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's transcripts. Unfortunately they are not complete. The year 47 has the place of honour; there are 410 sheets including several duplicates and there is a bulletin for almost every day of the year. The year 46 has 284 sheets, 44 has 319, and 45 and 43 have 274 each. Some of the years are very ill-represented; there are only 85 sheets for the year 28, 88, for the years 31 and 32 and 89 for the year 33, whereas the year 20, the earliest to be represented, has only 77 sheets. That Aurangzeb did not look with favour on the practice of the agents of the Rajas and provincial governors supplying their principals with the news of the court through these Akhbarat is proved by his order dated September 25, 1699, forbidding such practices and ordering that the agents should furnish securities in order to assure the court that they would not indulge in such malpractices.

These documents reveal the inner working of the Mughal court as nothing else does. Here we find abnormal births of more than two children reported, presents made to the Emperor recorded, gifts distributed by him described, appointments made, increments sanctioned, reductions ordered, despatches from various officials read and replies dictated, revenue accounts tendered, leave to officers sanctioned, administrative changes initiated and proclaimed, movements of the treasury reported and protection thereof provided for, demolition of temples ordered, special appointments made for regular receipts of news from certain places, titles conferred and withdrawn, deserters reported and proclaimed, watches regulated, order of precedence in the court settled, and grants to scholars, theologians and students sanctioned. There are several human touches in these austere state documents ; we find Aurangzeb changing and rechanging dates in the open court, making public enquiries about the health of some of his officers, sending physicians to cure them, preparing magical charms to the same effect, and giving public leave to his officials to call at the bedside of the sufferers. Here in the open court marriages were promoted and marriage portions fixed and granted ; tips received by the royal messengers reported and disposed of by the Emperor ; receipts of fruits and scents from distant places recorded and their disposal ordered ; deaths of prominent officials reported, arrangements for the bereaved family sanctioned, and officers appointed for calling at the house of the bereaved and terminate mourning. Purgatives taken, bleedings undergone, and dreams dreamt were all openly discussed and their effects compared. If the Emperor read the prayers for the dead over a corpse, it was recorded ; if he indulged in the pastime of changing the names of towns and forts, it found a place in the records of the Clerk of the Court. We find the important officials, high and low, discharging their duties and the routine of the court regulated. It is here that we can find the Mughal officialdom both at work as well as at play. Thus these records form a very important source of information about the Mughal period of Indian history.

The internal evidence of the official histories of the reigns of the various Mughal Emperors proves that the royal historiographers were usually supplied these minutes of the Mughal Emperor in court in the original or copies. But unfortunately for most of those concerned Aurangzeb brought under reduction the office of the imperial historiographer in his twenty-first year and, as we have already seen, he further tried to see that the practice, so long tolerated, of allowing the agents of the various Rajas and provincial governors to take down the proceedings as they were being read was discontinued. The survival of these records at Jaipur proves that the latter order was not entirely obeyed. But curiously enough it effected the quality of the non-official histories of Aurangzeb's reign compiled after his death. The *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* is the standard history of Aurangzeb's reign. Yet a comparison of this work with the Akhbarat has convinced me that it is not as reliable as all would like to suppose it. To take one example. According to the *Ma'asir* Raja Bhim Singh, the founder of the Banera Raj, died on January 7, 1694, yet as I showed in my article on the subject in the *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, the Akhbarat goes on speaking of him till a later period. His death is at last reported to the Emperor in August, 1694, several months after the date given in the *Ma'asir*. Take another case. The Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, possesses a MSS. of a *Dast-r-ul-Amal*, Manual of Administration, professedly written sometime after Aurangzeb's death. It gives the number of the *mansabdars*, public servants of various ranks, who served under Aurangzeb. The total number of all these servants holding the rank above *Yak Hazari* (1,000) is given as 227. Yet my examination of these documents has

brought to light, as described in my article on the Religious Policy of Aurangzeb in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for September, 1936, 112 Hindu *mansabdars* alone of the same rank.

These examples prove that in these minutes of the Mughal Emperor in Court we have a source of information which was not available even to the contemporary historians of the reign of Aurangzeb. With the help of these documents we can form a far better idea of the India of Aurangzeb than given to us by any historian. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has almost exhausted their value as sources of political history of the period. I have tried to utilize them in my studies on various aspects of the Mughal Administration. They represent, however, what I would still call an almost virgin field of enquiry and I am sure that if any one present here is lured into studying them, he would be able to give us a fuller and much better picture of the administrative practices of Mughal India than has hitherto been possible.

Discursive Notes on Balasore.

(By K. P. Mitra, M. A., B.L.).

A.—IMPORTANT PRODUCTS OF BALASORE.

(a) Cotton.

Orissa was famous for cotton products. There is one variety named *sahan*, included in the list of cotton cloths mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Pelsaert refers to it as one of the products of Jagannath as *tschen*, a superior wide cloth suitable for bed sheets. He also mentions another variety called *hammam* (towelling). Peter Mundy (1632) says that it was a linen from Orissa (Oreshawe). *Hammam* is an Arabic word meaning 'bath'; the linen was used as a bath-towel, sometime also as a wrapper in the winter season, which Taylor describes "as a cloth of thick stout texture." These two linens were imported to Patna which the Patna factors sent to Agra factory.¹ "Coarse white cloths were exported from lower Sindh, Orissa and other parts of the East Coast to many countries of Southern Asia and, in small quantities, to Japan and Europe."²

When Shaista Khan was about to conquer Chittagong (1665), he was getting ready a number of ships. He instructed Khan-i-Dauran, the Mughal Subahdar of Orissa, (1660-67), to build ships for him at Balasore. The latter wrote a letter to Muhammad Jan, the foudar of South Orissa, on the 28th December 1664, asking him to supply the necessary provisions. "The officers of the Imperial Government have reported that 210 *kudi* of cloth, of the *sahan*, *barbarah*, *do-suti*³ and *thati* varieties, 20,000 maunds of rice, 300 maunds of mustard oil ('yellow oil'), 260 maunds of sesamum, and 100 maunds of galmosaf are required for provisioning the ships (of the State).

¹ *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XII, pp. 643—45.

² Sir J. N. Sarkar—*Mughal Administration* (Second Series, 1925), pp. 75, 78.

³ Wilson's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms* describes *do-suti* as a variety of cotton cloth having rough and fine yarns for warp and woof respectively and refers to *barbarah* as a type of cotton cloth without describing it precisely.

According to the schedule attached to this letter, urge the officers of Jajpur, Bhadrak and other mahals in your faujdari to get them ready quickly and send them before the sailing season to the port of Baleshwar to Muhammad Baqar, the darogha of ship construction. The price of these things will be deducted from the amount due from the *amlas*.⁴

"The *amlas* should advance to the weavers, artisans, oil-vendors, etc., money for the things ordered. First settle the price with the help of the brokers. Then take bonds with the attestation of the brokers for the delivery of the goods in time. Send the *do-suti* before the other articles to the darogha that he may make sails with them. All the *kala-patis* and *najars*—master craftsmen and blacksmiths living at the port of Harishpur and other places, should be won over and sent to Baleshwar to engage in ship-building (for the Government) there."⁵

The English settlement on the coast of Orissa dates from the year 1633 when factories were started at Hariharpore and Balasore. Balasore was the port where all cargoes were received or shipped. The factors at Balasore made advance to weavers to provide cloth. About 1680 there was a serious dispute with them, for they declined to accept 'Rylls of Eight' (Spanish dollars) instead of rupees as an advance on the cloth they had contracted to provide.⁶

In the Record Room of the Collector of Cuttack we get a copy of the Temporary Regulations for the Department of Salt in the Province of Cuttack (transmitted to the Commissioners of Cuttack) for their guidance dated the 4th of May, 1804, and an extract from the Proceedings of the Honourable the Vice-President in Council in the Judicial Department under date the 5th of September, 1805, from which we get some important information. The average produce of import and export duties was 2,434 rupees, expenditure 49 rupees, net balance 2,385 rupees per mensem. "In the present state of the commerce of the Province of Cuttack, no great increase can be expected in this department (paragraph 39).

We have, however, every reason to believe that a considerable quantity of cotton may be in time brought from the Territories of the Raja of Berar down the Mahanuddy river to Cuttack and a consequent increase will arise in this article (paragraph 40).

It is well known that the Cuttack Province was seventy years ago famed for an excellent and extensive cloth manufacture ; the English East India Company alone derived from it an annual investment from 10 to 12 lacs of rupees. The Commercial Residency at Balasore was considered of such importance as to be held by a Member of the Council. It was not possible, however, that establishments of the nature of manufactures could exist for a period of sixty years at the mercy of the Mahratta Government which, it is notorious, never considered personal or any other property that could be appropriated to itself as the right of the possessor, a principle that from the wide extent of their dominions and their predatory habits has rendered the accounts of the former wealth of India apparently fabulous. The cloth manufacturers in particular have so far declined, that it will require several years to recover that important branch of the natural value of the Province, and we conceive the experimental investment which was conducted by Mr. Brown will tend to corroborate this opinion."

⁴ Sarkar J. N.—*Studies in Mughal India*, p. 218.

⁵ I. A. 1923 (June) *the Scattergoods and the E. I. Co.*, p. 29.

In 1825 an earnest effort was made by Government to grow cotton in the district of Balasore, as will appear from the following correspondence :

To

W. BLUNT, Esq., COMMISSIONER,

From

C. R. CARTWRIGHT, DEPUTY COLLECTOR, BALASORE.

SUBJECT :—*The most desirable lands for the establishment of a cotton plantation in this District.*

(He meets objections raised by the sub-export-warehouse keeper to the adoption of Mr. Wood's proposition)—

Question 1.—Whether certain lands in this District now useless could produce cotton ?

Answer.—Persons residing near the lands of the description above-noticed who having received a few cotton seeds distributed 2 years ago sowed them on it say that the plants were healthy and they flourished.

Question 2.—Whether requisite number of labourers could be procured to cultivate the ground ?

Answer.—I do not apprehend any difficulty in procuring labourers, for not only could the natives of this district employ themselves most willingly in a Government establishment of the kind, but a great portion of those who annually wander from Cuttack to Calcutta would undoubtedly engage themselves in an employ so much nearer to their home.

Question 3.—Whether it is possible to bring any cotton from Balasore to the Calcutta market without incurring enormous expense and great risk.

Answer.—The cotton being grown on the banks of a navigable river communicating with the sea a few miles from Balasore, it might of course be conveyed to the Calcutta market in hired provincial craft with equal facility and safety and at the same rate of freight at which salt and grain are now annually exported from Balasore to Calcutta instead of being liable to the objections stated. I would venture to urge the facility of a communication with the Calcutta market as one of the principal inducements to the establishment of a Government plantation.—

“ It is advisable to establish a plantation of their own ”.

Notwithstanding the undoubted capability of the hill lands (or rather those in the neighbourhood of the hills) to produce the Bourbon cotton, though not available for any other species of cultivation, yet I am given to understand that any plant grown in such lands would be exposed to great injury or destruction by the numerous wild animals which inhabit the jungles in the vicinity and that it would almost be impossible to protect the young plants; another objection is of distance of land carriage.

Convinced as I am of the advantages which would be derived to Government from the establishment of such a plantation in this district, I feel no hesitation in recommending the undertaking, and I would therefore suggest the propriety of my being authorised to enter into engagements with the proprietors of the 100 mauns above stated for a period of four years. But should the measure of establishing a

Government farm at Balasore be deemed liable to objection or the result of the undertaking less certainly advantageous than I am inclined to believe, I beg to submit that understanding by certain resolutions of Government that the cultivation of coffee and the introduction of any new article of produce have been encouraged and individuals in the service have been permitted to hold land for such purposes I am desirous if it shall not be considered incompatible with my present official situation to establish an experimental plantation to the above extent at my own risk and expense."

(b) *Salt.*

There are 23 volumes of Salt Correspondence in the record room of the Collector of Balasore and 62 in that of the Collector of Cuttack. Obviously the subject requires a separate treatment. I will content myself with the following copy of statement in 1851 :

Statement showing the distribution of the fixed Taidad of 4,50,000 mds. of salt of 1258 s.s. to be manufactured in the undermentioned Aurungs of the Balasore Agency during season 1851-52—E. S.

Name of Aurungs.				Total quantity of the salt to be manufactured.
Aurung	Sartha	..	..	58,000
Do.	Chennnoah	..	..	42,000
Do.	Dusmolung	..	..	90,000
Do.	Paunchmolung	..	..	42,000
Do.	Ankoorah	..	..	72,000
Do.	Chooramun	..	..	73,000
Do.	Dhaumrah	..	..	73,000
<hr/>				<hr/>
Total Mds.				4,50,000

Balasore Salt Office,

(Sd.) W. I. ALLEN,

The 9th August, 1851.

Salt Agent.

(c) *Indigo.*

Indigo was cultivated at Jellasore. In a letter dated the 5th January, 1816, Mr. I. F. Wilkinson, the planter, is asked to pay the duty due from him. In a letter of 6th February, 1819, written to P. Y. Lindsay he requests, in conformity with the decision of the Board of Revenue, to order the Darogah at Chokey Rajeghaut to abstain from stopping boats containing his indigo.

In a letter of 1829 there is mention of one Thomas Campbell, Englishman, who held 4,000 bighas of Indigo Establishment without permission.

(d) *Coffee.*

We find an application dated the 29th September, 1824, from I. A. Schultze, Superintendent of Embankments, Northern Division, Zila Cuttack, to Holt Mackenzie, Esq., Secretary to Government, asking for lease of land for 99 years at the foot of Neelgeer hills to establish a coffee plantation, which was granted to him.

B.—FOREIGN RELATIONS AND PROPERTIES OF OTHER NATIONS AT BALASORE.

(a) French.

J. King wrote to John Thornhill, Secretary to the Board of Trade, Commercial Department, Fort William, on the 19th December, 1806, reporting that "a two-masted vessel supposed to be a French privateer" appeared off the mouth of the Balasore river on the 17th instant. The crew of the boat landed at Balramgurry, proceeded to the top (?) of the Factory House, surveyed the channel of the river and the country, and made enquiries regarding the force at Balasore."

A letter from Mon. D. Dagot, Administrator, Chandernagore, dated 7th August, 1817, to the Hon'ble W. Leslie Melville, Joint Magistrate, Balasore :

MONSIEUR,

J'aireçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 16 du mois dernier, par laquelle vous m'apprenez la mort de Mr. Merle, Chef du Comptoir française à Balasore, et t'avis que vous avez fait insérer dans la Gazette.

There is a letter in French dated the 7th April, 1828 from M. Cordier complaining to H. Ricketts, Collector and Joint Magistrate, Balasore, that certain native British subjects were living in the French lodge but were unwilling to pay rent (*Khazana*).

No. 397.

Chandernagore le 7 Avril, 1828.

MONSIEUR LE MAGISTRAT DU CUTTACK,

Il m' ete rendu compte par le № Jussodanundo Dache fermier de la loge française de Balasore que plusieurs natifs anglais demuraient dans la dite loge sans vouloir payer de cazana au Gouvernement français.

J'ai donné l' ordre au fermier de leur dire que s'ils ne payaient pas, je serai forcé de les faire deloger et je l'ai invite à s'addresser à vous Monsieur le Magistrat, enfin d'éviter des Procedures.

La poste fermier par se lettre du 29 Mars dernier au fait consit que vous lui avez dit de présinter au requête à ce sujet.

Je vous envoie le plan de la loge française, tel qu'il a été remis en 1817 à Mr. Merle alors Chef de Loge à Balasore et vous verrez que les Natifs Prelade Mahapattore soyade Mohamde et Chand Beg, sont loges sur le territoire français et qu'ils doivent payer le cazana fixé.

Je ne m'oppose pas qu'ils restent, mais ils doivent se soumettre à ce qui leur est demandé.

Si vous ne voulez pas prendre sur vous de prononcer je vous prie de me le faire connaître enfin que je m'adresse à son Excellence le Gouverneur General.

J'ai l' honneur etc.

(Sd.) JH. CORDIER.

Similarly the French 'Commissaire' of Chandernagore writes a letter dated 25th August, 1838, to Edward Repton, Magistrate, Balasore, requesting him to ask "Sogornate Barrique" and others to pay *Khazana* to Chonatone Natte, fermier du Gouvernement de la loge de Balassor."

(b) Dutch.

The Dutch had their first settlement at Pipli, which they soon abandoned for Balasore. When they got a firm footing at Chinsura in 1653, they retained Balasore only for the convenience of the ships.

Dutch Factory at Balasore.

Regarding the properties of the Dutch at Balasore we have some interesting correspondence.

Dated Chinsurah the 2nd February, 1820, from the Hon'ble D. A. Overbeek, Esq., Resident at Chinsurah, to W. L. Melville Esq., Judge and Magistrate, Cuttack, *re* the Netherlands territories in Mouzah of Oetler Nowapore, Perg. of Sonhit, from which the Netherlands Agent at Balasore has been dispossessed—transmits him a copy of a letter from the Governor General in Council dated the 2nd July, 1819, addressed to him *re* those grounds, from which Melville would observe that his Government had referred the Netherland authorities to their own local courts of law for the recovery of the lands.

Copy of a letter to the Hon'ble D. A. Overbeek.

Paragraph 2.—“ We are happy to perceive that arrangements relative to the Dutch factory at Balasore had been adjusted to your satisfaction ”.

Paragraph 3.—Relates to the restitution to the Netherlandish Government of lands situated in Mouza Oetler Nowapore in Perg. Sonhit.

There is some correspondence on the subject of transference of Dutch possessions to the British Government.

15-11-1824. FROM T. PAKENHAM, OFFG. COMMISSIONER, CUTTACK, TO W. WILKINSON, ESQ., COLLECTOR, BALASORE—asks him to hold himself prepared to assume charge of the Factory at Balasore on receipt of further instructions from Government.

(Copies.) No. 121.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council in the Foreign Department, under date the 14th October, 1824.

Read a letter from the Honourable the Secret Committee dated 29th March, 1824, and its enclosures, received from the Secret Department.

The Governor General in Council observes that until the definitive orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors relative to the Treaty recently concluded with the Government of the Netherlands shall have been received, the measures of Government must necessarily be limited to the transmission of such information and preparatory instructions respecting the approaching transfers as circumstances may immediately render advisable.

His Lordship in Council remarks that a copy of the Treaty received from the Secret Committee and of the papers which accompanied it should be forwarded to the Government of Prince of Wales Island with a request that an agent may be held in readiness to proceed to Malacca for the purpose of receiving charge of that settlement, should such measure be found necessary, on which point the Governor General in Council will be furnished with the further directions from the Supreme

Government as soon as the intentions of the Honourable the Court of Directors in regard to the settlements are known. A copy of the Treaty and of the papers connected with it should also be transmitted to the Resident at Singapore for his information.

With regard to the transfer of Bencoolen to the Netherland authorities, the Government expects more detailed instructions. The Acting Resident, however, should be similarly apprized of the Treaty without delay, and should be required to adopt arrangements for removing from Fort Marlborough all stores and property of value and abstain from making any further advances on account of pepper or other articles of commerce which cannot be realised with security before the day of transfer. He should also be authorised to make it known, in the first instance, that the interests of the Natives have not been forgotten in the intended transfer, and that the most positive assurances have been given by the Netherland authorities that they will respect those interests as established by the treaties of 1816. The disposal of the convicts at Bencoolen will occupy the attention of Government in the Judicial Department and the measures connected with the removal of the Troops from thence will be considered in the Military Department.

The arrangement of the details connected with the 2nd Article comprising the various points of customs and duties will be adjusted in the Territorial Department in which also the measures to be taken for the liquidations of the local debt and other points of financial character will be considered.

The Dutch possessions situated in Bengal and its immediate dependencies are the Town and Territory of Chinsurah and the Factories at Calcapore, Patna, Dacca, Fultah and Balasore. His Lordship in Council observes that on the receipt of the expected instructions from the Honourable the Court of Directors Judge and Magistrate and the Collector of Hooghly may be directed to receive charge of Chinsurah and its dependencies from the Dutch authorities, the last mentioned officer taking possession under instruction from the Board of Revenue of all public lands and buildings and other public property and the Collectors of the several Districts in which the Factories above mentioned are situated may (then also) be similarly authorised to receive possession of them. The question as to how the public lands, buildings and other public property and the said settlement and factories shall be disposed of will be settled in the Territorial Department. The legislative enactments which may (be) necessary to pass on the ultimate annexation of Chinsurah will be determined in the Judicial Department.

Ordered that copies of the Treaty and of the papers which accompanied it be transmitted to the Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay and that copies of the Treaty and of the present resolutions be also recorded in the Judicial, Territorial and Military Departments, whence such further orders as may be necessary will be issued from those departments respectively.

(A True Extract.)

(Sd.) C. LUSHINGTON,
Secretary to the Government.

(No. 2.)

In the name of the Most Holy and undivided Trinity—

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and His Majesty the King of the Netherlands desiring to place upon a footing mutually beneficial to their respective possessions, and the commerce of their subjects in the East Indies so that the welfare and the prosperity of both Nations may be promoted in all time to come, without those differences and jealousies which have, in former times, interrupted the harmony which ought always to subsist between them, and being anxious that all occasions of misunderstanding between their respective agents may be, as much as possible, prevented, and in order to determine certain questions, which have occurred in the execution of the conventions made at London on the 13th August, 1814, in so far as it respects the possession of his Netherlands Majesty in the East, have nominated their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say, His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, The Right Honourable George Canning, a member of His said Majesty's Honourable Privy Council, a member of Parliament and His said Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Right Honourable Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, a member of His said Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, a member of Parliament, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Montgomery Shire Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry, and President of His said Majesty's Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, and His Majesty the King of Netherlands Baron Henry Fagel, Member of the Equestrian Corps of the Province of Holland, Councillor of State, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Belgic Lion, and the Royal Guelphic Order, and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of His said Majesty to His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Arton Ranhard Falek, Commander of the Royal Order of the Belgic Lion and His Majesty's Minister of the Department of Instruction, National Industry and Colonies, who after having mutually communicated their full powers, found in good and due form have agreed on the following articles :

Art. 1—subject—to mutually trade in the Eastern Archipelago.

Arts. 2 and 3—Duties and Customs.

Art. 4—Authorities, civil and military, to respect freedom of Trade.

Art. 5—Repressing piracy in those seas.

Art. 6—No new settlements to be formed.

Art. 7—Molucca Islands, specially Amboyna, Banda, Ternata and their dependencies are excepted from the operation of Arts. 1—4, until Netherland Government abandon monopoly of spices.

Art. 8—His Netherland Majesty cedes to His Brittanic Majesty all his establishments on the continent of India, and renounces all privileges and exemptions enjoyed or claimed in virtue of those establishments.

Art. 9—The Factory of Fort Marlborough, all the English possessions on the Island of Sumatra are hereby ceded to His Netherland Majesty ; and His Brittanic Majesty further engages that no British Settlement shall be formed on that Island, nor any treaty concluded by the British authority with native Prince, Chief or State therein.

Art. 10—Town, and Fort of Malacca and dependencies ceded to His Brittanic Majesty.

Art. 11—His Brittanic Majesty withdraws objection to the occupation of the Island of Billiton and dependencies by agents of Netherland Government.

Art. 12—His Netherland Majesty withdraws objection to occupation of the Island of Singapore by subjects of His Brittanic Majesty. No British establishment to be made on the Carinon Island and Island of Baltam, Bintang, or other islands.

Art. 13—Delivery of all possessions on the 1st March 1825.

Art. 14—Inhabitants for 6 years of the date of ratification of the Treaty may dispose of property as they like:

Donie at London the Seventeenth day of March in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-four.

Signatures.

There is an extract from a letter in Dutch written by the Dutch Government at Chinsurah respecting a certain tract of land at Balasore, forwarding a document executed in 1664 and translated in Dutch in 1771. "It is the result of an inquest, showing, by the testimony of many notable persons of Balasore, that certain tract of land, the position of which is here given, belongs to the English, they having purchased it long before from a Portuguese, who himself held it from the Dutch. Getranslateekd 10th July, 1771".

(MIEKBENDEK, SEIG SEHAABUD DIEN BROEDIN RAN DE KAJI AELBIET ULLA MIRZA MAHMUD ZEMAN.)

Extract from the Proceedings of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council in the Foreign Department. 23rd June 1825.

Extract from Letter from the Commissioner at Chinsurah dated the 30th May 1825.

There is a statement of lands transferred from the Netherland to British Government on the 6th June, 1825, in a tabular form in the following columns—name of occupant, caste, family, description of land, quantity of land, jummah. Several castes have been mentioned—Mungutjan, Soonree, Goalah, Rahree, Portuguese, Brahmin, Musulman, Cawoot, Chussah, Bustom, Barai, Gooreah (?), Moothee, Kandra, Hanree, Dhobee, Telee, Tamlee, Bhandari.

The statement includes wasteland.

In a letter dated the 4th August, 1825, C. R. Cartwright submits to W. Blunt, Commissioner, Cuttack, a detailed statement of lands (as ascertained by actual measurement) lately transferred from the Dutch to the British Government.

"The whole of the property so transferred consists of that description of land called Dehee or Building ground and that the rates of rent at which it has hitherto been leased out to individuals are of a very fair and equitable nature—no alteration is necessary in the present tenures—except that new pottah be given to the respective tenant for a yearly lease (instead of monthly).

With regard to the Factory House and Garden attached I have only to remark that it is in a very ruinous and dilapidated state, such as to preclude the possibility of its being converted to any use, and I would beg, therefore, to recommend that it

be rented out in small portions to such persons as may be willing to engage for it in like manner with the rest of the property".

(c) *Danish.*

There was a Danish factory at Balasore. There is a reference to it in the Cuttack Records (Vol. 277, Collector) where a complaint is made that the unsatisfactory sale of opium was due to the fact that the Dutch and Danish factories at Balasore were selling it at reduced rates. (August and September, 1817). In 1845, all the territory in India belonging to the Danes, viz., Tranquebar, Serampore and a piece of ground at Balasore, was sold to the English East India Company for twelve and half lacs of rupees.⁶

We have a reference to the transference of the Danish factory in a letter written by F. Lowth, Collector, to the Commissioner of Revenue, Cuttack, under date the 30th August, 1847, wherein he replies to allegations made against him in a petition by Gokool Baharee Koond Mookhtear whom he dismissed—"On the Danish Factory coming under the jurisdiction of British Government and after a settlement according to Reg. VII of 1822 had been completed, farming engagements were invited Muddoosoodun Kur, Muddun Mohan Mahapater and Nurhuree Naik, etc., presented petitions and on these papers being produced before me on the 16th January, 1847, I after mature deliberation farmed the estate to Muddun Mohan Mohapater."

C.—PORT OF BALASORE AND PORT DUTIES.

Lt.-Col. G. Harcourt, Commg. in Cuttack and Commissioner for the Affairs of Cuttack, wrote a letter dated the 15th January, 1804, to Captain Thomas Morgan at Balasore regarding collection of port duties directing that they should be separated from other sources of revenue. "....nor is it necessary for me to add that the most pointed regulations of British Government have been from time to time issued, abolishing all duties deemed oppressive, and prohibiting the collection of unauthorised duties in the most peremptory manner.

The duties which I believe have been sanctioned and collected by Government are on all articles except grain; on spirituous liquors, intoxicating drugs, ganja, etc.; they direct as heavy a duty to be levied as possible, with a view to preclude immoderate use of those articles.

The amount of the sea customs, or port duties for the present should be 2½% on the mooring with the exception of grain *in toto* and of salt shipped for the Government."

Robert Ker took over the charge of the office of the Collector of Customs from Captain Morgan in 1804, and made it over to J. King in 1806 on the 23rd January.

In volume no. 511 (Cuttack Collector) there is an interesting letter :—

To Robert Ker, Judge and Magistrate, Ballasore.

I am directed by H. E. the Most Noble the Governor General in Council to acquaint you that it is the intention of the Right Honourable Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Fort St. George, to leave Fort William in the course of 2 or 3 days on his return to Madras by Dauk, by the route of Cuttack.

2. He is requested to afford his Lordship all assistance.

Lord William Bentinck was Governor of Madras from 1803 to 1807.

King wrote a letter dated the 25th April, 1807, to George Udny, President and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, about the condition of commerce in Cuttack Province.

".....but from the best information I have been able to obtain, it appears that the commerce of Cuttack is, at present, inconsiderable, and that no very great increase in the revenue arising from the collection of Government customs can be expected for some years to come."

Enclosure no. 2 contained a list of the principal articles of merchandise that formed the imports and exports of the Northern Division of Cuttack.

Paragraph 3.—.... "I am of opinion that the collection of Government customs and port duties in the Northern Division of Cuttack should be confined to the town of Balasore, and the ports of Balasore, Lochunpoor, Chooramoonee and Dhaumrah and that the internal commerce and merchandise passing the western frontier should be exempt from duties.....

....I am informed that under the Mahratta Government, duties were levied on all merchandise @ 1 anna per rupee or $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.....

....The duties levied in Cuttack by the British Government are very moderate in comparison with what used formerly to be collected under the Maharatta Government, and the merchants appear so well satisfied with the present rate of assessment that it, perhaps, may not be considered necessary to forego this source of public revenue".

On the 20th of August, 1809, he wrote a letter to Charles Buller, Commissioner for settling the Revenue of Cuttack regarding regulation of customs and suggesting certain amendments of rules, proposed to be adopted in Cuttack, modifying "Rules for the Collection of Customs and Town Duties in Bengal".

King made over the charge of his office to C. Becher in March, 1812.

From a letter written in 1816 to J. P. Ward, Acting Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort William, we learn: "The value of almost every article is regulated by the Book of Rates, which is in fact the actual selling price of goods in the bazar at Balasore (with the exception of long cloths and syarees, the manufacture of Ingeram and other places on the coast)....."

C. Becher, Collector of Government Customs and Town Duties, Balasore, received an extract of Rates of Articles dated the 19th March, 1819.

Sugar finer sort	..	..	..	Rs. 8.
Coarse	..	..	..	Rs. 5.
Jagree	..	..	..	Rs. 2.
Oils	..	..	..	Rs. 7.
Oil Seeds	..	..	..	Rs. 2.
Saltpetre culmee	..	..	..	Rs. 6.
Salt Kutie and Abes	..	..	..	Rs. 4

J. H. Doyly, Collector of Government Customs, Balasore, forwards (23rd December, 1823) to W. H. Oakes, Esq., Accountant, Revenue Department, Fort William, a statement :

Statement of duties collected on piece-goods, raw cotton and silk, the manufacture and produce of the Company's territories from 1809-10 to 1822-23.

Year.	Quantity.	Value.	Rate of duty.	Under what Regulation.	Amount of duty.	Remarks on causes of fluctuation.
1811/12	1,27,503 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,49,177	@ 7/2 P.C.	1810	11,182/12/7	

He reports that the trade in 1827 was trifling.

9-11-1827. To John Trotter, Secretary to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, Fort William, from J. H. Doyly, C. G. C:—

—forwards a corrected statement of the proposed alterations in the Book of Rates at the Custom House.

2nd paragraph.—With reference to the 4th paragraph I beg to observe that the trade here is so trifling and that the merchants and people in general so poor that few if any articles of the first quality are ever brought here for sale, for instance the saltpetre sold in the bazar is almost all of one sort and the small quantities of the Culmee and Cuttee kind not being in demand sell for the price as the aubee, *viz.*, 8 annas per maund.

3rd paragraph.—All coconut oil also sells at the price of 15 rupees in the bazar.

4th paragraph.—On the cotton I find upon enquiry the duty has been levied at 12 annas per md. for cleaned cotton and 4 annas or 5 per cent. for uncleaned agreeably to schedule III, Regulation 15 of 1825.

H. W. Parker, Secretary, Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, in a letter dated the 29th November, 1828, sends an extract from the Resolution of the Board of Customs.

Paragraph 14.—Indigo owing to the excellence of its quality which is not yet rivalled by the produce of other countries is the only one of our staple articles that still maintains its ground and in the receipt from this article there will be found considerable increase on the close of the year's accounts, as the season for its growth was very favourable, the crop having been estimated at Fy maunds 1,35,000 while that of the year previous produced only Fy maunds 90,101—

Paragraph 15.—Cotton, another of our staples, was in little demand; it has been supplanted either by the produce of America, Bourbon and Surat or by the markets abroad being over-stocked with supplies of former years; its growth in our provinces has failed.....

From a letter to the Right Hon'ble Lord Auckland, C. G. C. B., Governor General of India and Governor of Bengal, written by C. Doyly and H. W. Parker on the 31st March, 1836, it appears that no provision appeared to be necessary on account of Town Duties, the levy of which tax never existed at Balasore. The Commissioner of the 19th Division wrote that it would be necessary to maintain an establishment at Balasore only for Sea Customs—at a monthly charge of Rs. 182 including 80 Rs. for the Master Attendant at Balasore, whom the Board recommended being attached to the Department as Assistant to the Collector of Customs,

while the latter appointment should, they conceive, be continued as well as the entire control of the establishment in the person of the Collector of Land Revenue at Balasore.

A sample is given of comparative statement of Receipts and Disbursement of every description of the Sea Custom House at Balasore from May, 1836 to April, 1838.

Particulars.	In 1836/37.	In 1837/38.	Increase	Decrease
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Duty realised on Imports	762 13 11	1184 13 4	421 15 5	..
Do. on Exports	71 15 5	213 11 10	141 12 5	..
Sale on confiscated goods	..	..	..	..
Fines ..	..	122 13 5	122 13 5	..
Miscellaneous ..	605 6 8½	363 14 5	..	241 8 3½
	1,440 4 ½	1,885 5 0	686 9 3	241 8 ½
Disbursement and charges :—				
Fixed Establishments ..	2036 15 5½	2184 0 0	148 15 5½	..
Charges on confiscations ..	..	..	..	..
Contingent charges ..	48 15 10½	68 14 9	10 14 10½	..
	2,085 15 4	2,252 14 9	168 14 4	..
Excess Disbursement Cs. Rs.	645 11 3½	367 9 9	..	..

Balasore Sea Custom House,

(Sd.) E. REPTON, C. C.

The 10th December.

A copy of the Regulation relating to the trade of foreign ships with India is contained in Vol. 92.

Traders from the Maldives and Laccadive Islands used to come to Balasore and care was taken to afford them all facilities of trade.

Translation of letter from Maldives Sultan.

15-11-1824. To W. Wilkinson Esq., Joint Magistrate at Balasore, from T. Pakenham, Commissioner, Cuttack.

"I beg leave to transmit a translation of a letter in the Arabic language, received from the Sultan of the Maldives Islands, representing the difficulties experienced by the inhabitants of them resorting to Balasore for purposes of trade and as it is extremely desirable that every source of traffic with this Province should be cultivated and encouraged, and not less a matter of justice that foreigners resorting to our ports should receive every facility in carrying on the commercial transactions, I have to request you will in co-operation with the Collector of Government Customs afford every assistance to the people of that nation in the disposal of the articles of commerce brought by them and prevent any undue influence or unwarrantable interference in their affairs so far as may (be) consistent with your duty under the general regulations and that you will cause it to be explained to the inhabitants of Maldives Islands at present at Balasore that instructions to the above effect have been furnished to you."

There is mention of a Laccadive boat, named Khoda Salmuttee, commanded by Hassan Nakhoda, in a letter written to H. Manning, Collector of Government Customs, under date the 7th January, 1822.

In a letter dated the 28th March, 1832, Alfred Bond, Assistant Master Attendant at Balasore, writes to Nocada Mossagee Chumjhee, Moulmein, forwarding him lists of wrecked property appertaining to Nocada Mossagee Ebramjee from the loss of the *Lady Barlow*.

D.—WILD BEASTS AT BALASORE.

There is an ample correspondence to show that Orissa was infested with wild beasts early in the nineteenth century. C. Graeme, Collector, Zilah Jugunath, writes to T. Fortescue, Esq., Secretary to the Commissioners, Cuttack, on the 14th February, 1805 "that bears and hyenas are numerous and destructive in this division" and enquires whether he should pay to the *Shikaris* the same amount for their heads as for tigers (Coll. Vol. 349; Com. Vol. 8).

A reward of Rs. 5 was paid for each head of tiger and bear. An account dated the 10th August, 1815, shows the payment of Rs. 700 for 140 tigers, and Rs. 70 for 14 bears; another statement for February, March, and April, 1817, dated 28th May, 1817, shows that for 35 tigers a sum of Rs. 175, and 32 cubs (@Rs. 2-8-0) Rs. 80 was paid; a third statement of 1818 shows that a reward of Rs. 80 for 13 tigers and 6 cubs was paid. Receipts had to be taken from the *Shikaris* and certificates granted. Here is a sample :

I do hereby certify that all the tigers' heads charged in the above statement have been carefully examined by me and I am satisfied that none of them was fictitious nor for which the Government rewards have been before paid. These heads were all examined (I conclude).

BALASORE GOVERNMENT CUSTOM HOUSE,

(S.D.) W. DENT

The 12th November 1818.

Ag. C. G. C.

Thomas Pakenham sends to W. Dent., Actg. C. G. C., Balasore, an order for Rs. 135 for tiger heads. In a letter dated the 24th May, 1828, he writes the following letter to Ricketts, Collector of Balasore : "Four tigers' heads were paid for by Mr. Patton @ Rs. 10 for each, and no authority has been furnished for the charge at the higher rate. Report under what circumstances the rewards in question which are double the amount authorised were paid".

Historical Families of Berar during the Mughal Period.

(By Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B.)

Jadhao Family of Sindkhed.

Every one well-versed in Maratha history knows that Rajah Lukhji Jadhao was the maternal grandfather of the great Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha kingdom. Shivaji's mother was his daughter. Sindkhed, the old dilapidated village in the present district of Buldana in Berar, was the residential headquarters of Lukhji Jadhao. Even at present there are, in ruin, magnificent buildings, palaces, tanks and temples at Sindkhed; they give an idea of the prosperity, wealth and prominence of the family. Amongst the tombs of the Jadhao family, there stands a massive

building, which commemorates Lukhji Jadhao and his sons and grandsons who fell a victim to the treachery of the Nizamshah and his sardars in the fort of Daulatabad. The building has got, on its two gates, inscriptions which give the genealogy of the Jadhao family, some of the names being here revealed to history for the first time. The inscription mentions the name of the family as Bhanavase Deshmukh. Vithoji has been mentioned as Lukhji's father, and Thakarai as his mother. His wife's name is Girjai and his sons are Dattaji, Anchalji and Raghaji. Yeshvantrao and Rajilimbaji are mentioned as sons of Dattaji.

From the unpublished bakhar preserved in the family, it appears that Lukhji Jadhao himself acquired the deshmukhi watan of the Sindkhed perganah from one Mule family after defeating one Ravirao Dhone who had usurped it. Lukhji was a prominent sardar of the Nizamshahi kingdom, so much so that the marriage of his daughter Jijabai with Shahaji Bhosale was brought about and celebrated by the Sultan with great pomp in the fort of Daulatabad. Subsequently ill-feeling arose between the Sultan and Lukhji in 1621 A.D. or thereabout and he deserted the Nizamshah and entered the service of the Mughals of Delhi. Prince Khurram revolted against his father Jehangir in 1623 A.D. In his cause he was supported by Lukhji Jadhao and the other sardar Raje Udaram in the Deccan. After reconciliation between the father and the son both these sardars rejoined the Mughal ranks and they were present in the Mughal army, which was sent to the help of the Adilshah of Bijapur in the battle which took place in 1634 A.D. at Bhatwadi, a village at present in the Nagar district, between Malikambar, a representative of the Nizamshah, on one side and the Adilshah on the other.

After the death of Lukhji and his sons and grandsons in the fort of Daulatabad, his brother Bhutji took a prominent part in bringing about the fall of Daulatabad in favour of the Mughals. The mansab and the jaghirs of Lukhji were granted to Bhutji as his son was a minor. Bhutji thereafter shifted to Delhi, the capital of the empire, where he stayed till his death which took place in about 1636 A.D. After his death the family again shifted to Sindkhed, its former headquarters. Many prominent representatives of the family served the Mughal government, and subsequently the rajahs of Satara, the Peshwas and the Nizams. The family continued the relationship with the rajah of Satara by several matrimonial ties.

At present the family has been divided into several branches. Though the members of the family still retain the hereditary title of Rajah, only a few of them still possess a portion of the family jaghirs, while the majority of them have been reduced to the position of petty cultivators.

The representatives of the family have got with them old records which include sanads, correspondence with the Mughals, the Peshwas and the Nizams and also several other documents throwing light on history. I had an opportunity to inspect the records of one of the branches. A copy of a Surat Majlis (an award of the panchas) was one of the several important documents in those records. It is dated in the year 1719 A.D. It refers to several important incidents such as the tragical death of Lukhji and his family in the fort of Daulatabad, Bhutji's treachery at the fall of the fort, grant of favours to him by the Emperor Shahjahan, partition between the sons of Lukhji and Bhutji in 1633 A.D. and the ultimate award which was the main theme of the document.

It is necessary to visit all the branches of the family with a view to search for the records and to make attempts for their preservation. These records mainly deal with the political history of Maharashtra for the period of a hundred years.

Rajah Udaram of Mahur's Family.

The family rose to prominence during the reign of Akbar. Its founder was one Uddhaorao Ramji who was a Maratha Brahmin following the profession of a mere patwari of a few villages near Basim in Berar. Being tired of his life of poverty, he left his village and went to Khirki (present Aurangabad) to seek prosperity. He got himself engaged there with an amir as a writer. Along with the amir he went to Delhi where he rose to prominence by his own ability. He took part in the political affairs there and his services were brought to the notice of the Emperor Akbar who ultimately rewarded him by the grant of hereditary title of Rajah, a mansab of 5,000 and sardeshmukhi *watan* of 52 perghanas in Berar. This took place in 1592 A.D. His services have been recorded in the Persian chronicles of the time. His name has been mentioned as Rajah Udaram in those works. He died in 1632 A.D. at the age of 66.

We read the name of Rajah Udaram in the autobiography of Jehangir for the first time in 1617 A.D. Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) was deputed to manage the affairs in the Deccan subha. After the settlement of the affairs in the Deccan and the treaty with Nizamshah and Adilshah, the prince was ordered to see the emperor at the fort Mandu in the October of 1617 A.D. A darbar was held there and the prince was invested with a mansab of 30,000. The chroniclers record the names of the sardars who were presented to the emperor and had the honour of personal interview with him. We find the name of Rajah Udaram, the only Hindu sardar, in the above list.

Prince Khusru revolted against his father Jehangir and left fort Mandu for the Deccan in 1623 A.D. Rajah Udaram and Rajah Lukhji Jadhao, the prominent sardars of Berar, were among his supporters. Rajah Udaram took the prince to Mahur, which was his residential headquarters. Before leaving for Telingana the prince stayed at Mahur along with his wife Mumtaz Mahal and his children. Prince Aurangzeb was then only six years old. The descendants of Rajah Udaram still show with great pride the ruins of a grand building where the prince had resided as the guest of the Rajah. After the prince was reconciled with his father, both the Berar sardars were readmitted to the service of the emperor after they had paid heavy fines. It is mentioned above that both the sardars were present in the battle of Bhatwadi. They were fighting under the Adil Shahi general Mulla Muhammad who was sent to assist against the Nizamshah.

On the death of Rajah Udaram in 1632 A.D. his mansab, jaghirs and the deshmukhi *watan* were bestowed upon his son Jagjeewan Rao by the emperor Shahjahan. The family possesses the sanad issued by the emperor in 1637 A.D. Like his father, Rajah Jagjeewan Rao also played a prominent part in the political affairs of the Deccan. Emperor Shahjahan granted him sanads in 1642 and 1652 A.D. By these sanads Jagjeewan Rao held jaghirs, the total revenue of which amounted to 2 crores 70 lacs dams. He held civil and criminal jurisdiction over the 23 perghanas of Berar. Jagjeewan Rao died in 1658 A.D. on a battle field near Agra while fighting on behalf of Aurangzeb in the civil war for the throne between the sons of Shahjahan. On his death Jagjeewan's mother rallied his army and assisted Aurangzeb till he

succeeded in routing his rival brothers. Being pleased with the valour displayed by the lady, Aurangzeb gave her title as Rai Bagin (Royal Tigress) by which name she is known in history. Aurangzeb confirmed on Baburao, the minor son of Jagjeewan, all his rights and jaghirs. In his minority Rai Bagin herself performed all the royal services. In 1660 Aurangzeb dispatched his general Shastakhan to the Deccan to subdue Shivaji. In the list of the sardars sent by the emperor to assist the general we find the names of Rai Bagin of the Udaram family and Raje Dattaji and Raje Rustumrao of the Jadhao family. It is recorded in history that the Mughal army under Kartalab Khan was saved from annihilation in the pass of Umarkhindi through the mediation of Rai Bagin with Shivaji in that campaign. It is a unique instance in the history of India that a Maratha Brahmin lady was deputed to assist a renowned Mughal general against a formidable enemy by an emperor like Aurangzeb.

Jagjeewan's son Baburao was also equally prominent in the Mughal service. He was called for personal interview by the emperor at Burhanpur, was presented with a copy of the Shahnama and was also granted the hereditary title of Rajah. Baburao died in about 1702 A.D. The family served the Mughal government till its downfall. After its decline the family had connection with the rajas of Satara, the Peshwas and the Nizams.

The family was divided into six branches in 1803 A.D. and since then the members of the family enjoy their jaghirs and family *watan* without taking any part in the politics of the time. At present the branches at Mahur, Malegaon and Warha in Berar hold a few of the jaghirs acquired by the founder of the family. The members of the family still hold the hereditary title of Rajah Udaram and it has also been recognised by the present government. The branches at Mahur and Malegaon still possess the original sanads issued by the Mughal emperors on various occasions. The head of the Malegaon branch has got in his possession the copy of the Shahnama presented to his ancestor by Aurangzeb. He has got in his possession Persian works of Abul Fazal in manuscript of his time and also old records in Persian and Marathi.

Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I and the Marathas, 1721—1728.

(By V. G. Dighe, M.A.)

On the downfall of the Sayyid Brothers, Nizam-ul-Mulk's cousin Amin Khan became Vazir. In 1721 the Nizam led an expedition against the turbulent Pathan Nawabs of the Karnatak, and while yet engaged with them the news of the death of his cousin the Vazir reached him, followed by an invitation from the Emperor to take over upon himself the Vazirate. In all haste the Nizam called back his trusted lieutenants and started on his northward journey in October 1721. He reached Agra in January 1722 and assumed his office the next month. In his absence the Deccan came to be administered by Mubariz Khan, who could not conceal his dislike for the Marathas, assumed an aggressive policy, defied their claims and completely estranged them.¹ He had to pay a heavy price when two years later he fought the Nizam as a rival for the prize of the Deccan viceroyalty.

The Nizam's Vazirate.

The Nizam's experience as the Vazir of the Empire was not very happy. A man advanced in years and austere in habits, he did not quite fit in the gay life of the

¹ Shahi Diary No. 5 Shafi Khan, Hadiqat-ul-Alam, p. 136.

Emperor's court. His attempt to reform administration and put an end to corruption made him powerful enemies, who were the Emperor's boon companions. His policy and actions were misinterpreted and when the Nizam added Gujarat and Malwa to his own charge in 1723, it was given out by his enemies that he was strengthening his own position with a view to overawe the Emperor and establish a permanent tutelage over him. Without support of the Emperor, surrounded by courtiers who hardly concealed their enmity, the Vazir thought it wise to retire to his Deccan subah. With that end he left Delhi in December 1723 on pretext of ill-health, crossed the Jumna, and by way of Anup-Shahar, Soran, Jalesar, Agra and Narwar, made his way to Ujjain in February 1724.

Contest with Mubariz Khan.

While still at Sehore (near Bhopal) disturbing news reached him that his subordinate Mubariz Khan was preparing to contest his authority and that he had been egged on to this by the Delhi courtiers, who had even sent him a royal *farman* appointing him to the subahdarship. It was believed that Mubariz Khan marching from Hyderabad would soon possess himself of Aurangabad, the capital of the province, and from thence move northward into Malwa, where he would be joined by reinforcements from Delhi and the combined army would then hurl itself on Nizam-ul-Mulk. As a counterpoise the Nizam met the Maratha, Peshwa Bajirao, who was then hovering on the southern frontier of Malwa, at Nalcha on 18th May 1724 (Ramzan 5), and entered into a pact with him. Besides recognising the imperial grants of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the Deccan, the Nizam, it would seem, encouraged Maratha pretensions over Malwa and Gujarat and agreed to subsidise Bajirao's army.² As a result a Maratha army kept the field throughout the monsoon and continued to co-operate with the Nizam.

The Nizam reached Burhanpur in May and occupied Aurangabad at the end of June 1724. Mubariz Khan also prepared for struggle and was joined by the Pathan Nawabs and advanced in the direction of Aurangabad. About the 3rd of September the Nizam "with the help of Bajirao and other Marathas marched out at the head of six thousand horsemen in the midst of lightening and thunder, wind and rain"; they proceeded within twelve coss of Mubariz Khan's camp about Char Thana. Mubariz Khan by a flanking movement now aimed at striking a blow at Aurangabad, where the Nizam had deposited his treasure and kept his family. Being weak in artillery he wanted to avoid a contest where the enemy would be able to use his guns. He calculated his move towards Aurangabad would send the Nizam hurriedly in the same direction and would separate him from his guns; or if he did not move he would capture the Nizam's treasure and family deposited in the place. His strategy, however, was foiled by the Maratha horse. They challenged his passage at every step and arrested his progress.³ On 30th September Bajirao captured Mubariz Khan's outposts on the Purna and drove him to the shelter of Shakar Khera. The preliminary skirmishing began on 1st October and by the 8th grew into a general action.

"There being no other course open to him, Mubariz Khan stowed his baggage and impediments in Shakar Khera and drew up his force outside the town. As he was unwilling to leave his position, the Nizam advanced and the battle began on 11th October 1724." The result was not long in the balance; by nightfall Mubariz

* See Peshwa Diary MSS. unpublished for the year 1724.

² S. P. D. XXX, No. 34, and Diary MSS. unpublished.

Khan's army was annihilated, the Khan himself being among the slain.⁴ A few days later the Nizam moved south and persuaded the Khan's son Khaja Ahmed to surrender (1725 January⁵). It took him some time to put down the rowdy elements that were fishing in troubled water, clear up the roads and restore general order. By 20th June 1725 the Emperor pardoned the Nizam and sent him the *farmans* of the Deccan with the title of Asaf-Jah. He was now free to deal with Maratha menace.

The Marathas co-operate with the Nizam.

Before we take up further narrative a few doubts must be answered. The Nizam had declared his inveterate hostility to the Marathas during his first regime of vice-royalty of 1713-15; his second term of 1720-21 was marked with no friendly sentiments towards the Maratha neighbours. His deputy during his absence had shown himself impatient of Maratha encroachments and had obstructed them whenever he could. During his term of office as Vazir the Nizam had shown himself a bigot—an enemy of all Hindus by pressing for the renewal of the Jaziya levy. In addition to his viceroyalty of the Deccan he had Malwa and Gujarat transferred to himself. His territory thus bounded that of the Marathas on three sides and a contest with them appeared imminent. Under those circumstances does it not appear strange, unwise and impolitic that the Marathas instead of trying to defeat his object should have taken up his cause and actively helped him? All accounts agree that the Maratha horse contributed not a little to the Nizam's victory. It was Maratha cavalry that foiled Mubariz Khan's march to Aurangabad and forced him to give battle in a disadvantageous position. The Nizam was not an unknown factor when the Marathas helped him to win the war. He was a veteran statesman, with whom it behoved the Marathas well to deal tactfully. That he won the Marathas over to his side was a success of his diplomacy.

The Marathas duped.

The Nizam had early established personal contact with the young Peshwa Bajirao, a man of imperious nature and impetuous temperament. They had met in January 1721 in Berar and again in February 1723 at Badaksha near Zabua. The Nizam's position as Vazir being risky, he was on the look out for allies who could help him, when the time came to withstand the might of the empire. What could be more natural than that an alliance with the Marathas, or shall we say particularly with Bajirao,⁶ should have suggested itself to him? It was easy to win over the Peshwa by holding out promises of greater gain at the cost of the Empire. A rebel is always more liberal to his allies than a *de facto* ruler in power. He has staked his all on his rebellion and is anxious to win at any cost. If the rebel wins, the power that is defeated has to make amends to the rebel as well as his ally; if he loses, his ally can claim nothing from him. He is thus in a position to outbid the *de jure* authority in inviting allies.

Such an attempt was made by both parties—the Nizam and Mubariz Khan—in the dispute. Letters were sent to Mughal officers and Rajahs in the south to oppose⁷ the Nizam, and Mubariz Khan was authorised to open fresh negotiations to

⁴ Selections from Peshwa Daftari S. P. D. XXX, No. 311.

⁵ Khafa Khan pps. Hadiqat-ul-Alam pp.

⁶ There is ground to believe that Bajirao had not secured the consent of King Shahu when he assisted the Nizam. See Rajwada VI, Nos. 18, 19, 22. Shahu's orders to his commanders were to keep themselves neutral. See Shahu Diary.

⁷ See S. P. D. X. I.

gain allies. An important paper⁸ has come to light which sets forth the terms demanded by the Marathas. In addition to the confirmation of the former grants of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the six subahs, the new demands stipulated for Chauth from Malwa and Gujarat, for the relinquishment of the tribute which the Raja had agreed to pay for the Sardesmukhi claim, asked for the restoration of several forts in Maharashtra which had yet remained under Mughal authority, further asked for the province of Hyderabad to be made over to Fatesing Bhonsle, for the Maratha territory taken by the Sidi to be restored, and on the top of it came the demand to dictate the appointment of the Deccan Subahdar. The terms were staggering, and it was impossible that Mubariz Khan could accept them ; they were rejected by the Khan. The Nizam on his side held out fair promises to the Marathas and though their exact nature is not known, there is ground to believe that in addition to the former grants he agreed to encourage their claims on Malwa and Gujarat and to subsidise their army. He met Bajirao at Nalcha on 18th May 1724 when negotiations were perfected and since then large sums were received by the Peshwa for his military expenses.⁹ The Nizam was intent on winning the war and had no intention to adhere to his promises. His actions were soon to belie his words.

The Nizam prepares for a contest with Marathas.

As soon as the Nizam had triumphed over his rival he began to look round for means to free himself from the shackles of the Maratha demands of Chauth. The first step he took in this direction was the removal of his capital to Hyderabad, Bhaganagar, a place distant from Maratha territory and possessing a more centrical situation for his Subha of the Deccan. Aurangabad lay on the route from the south to the north and was easily accessible to Maratha armies. Hyderabad henceforth became the capital of the Nizam.

Another measure he took in this direction was of far-reaching importance. No territory being exempt from Maratha demands, Maratha Kamavisdars were aggressively present everywhere. To rid himself of their influence partially in the beginning, the Nizam suggested that the province of Hyderabad should be exempt from Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, and in lieu of these payments he offered to cede territory in the district of Indapur, and also to make to Raja Shahu certain contributions in commutation. For carrying on the negotiations he chose the pliable Pratinidhi, a man of mild character, who was jealous of the rising fortunes of the young Peshwa. The Peshwa opposed the negotiations saying "it must be ever our objective to increase causes of friction with the Nizam, to invade and dismember his territory. The Nizam desires to remove the source of altercation and live in safety at Bhaganagar. I do not approve of the measures. If you order me, I shall provoke hostilities with the Nizam and secure for you (Raja Shahu) the mahals he is giving in exchange without foregoing the Chauth of Hyderabad."¹⁰ Shahu had not yet fathomed the deep-laid plans of the Nizam ; a man of conciliatory disposition and no politician at all, he wanted to be at peace with his neighbours. The counsel of the Pratinidhi (who had been seduced by the grant of a jagir in Berar¹¹) prevailed and the exchange of territory

⁸ Op. Cit.

⁹ Peshwa Diary Mar. unpublished.

¹⁰ I do not believe in these high sounding words of the Peshwa. How can we reconcile his co-operation with the Nizam, in 1724 ?

¹¹ This statement has no other evidence except the account given in Shahu's Bakhar.

was effected by the beginning of 1726 when the Peshwa was engaged on the distant expedition of the Karnatak.¹² The King was soon to receive a rude awakening.

Shahu sent an expedition to the south in the autumn of 1725 and repeated it in the next year. He counted on the co-operation of the Nizam to establish his claims on the Karnatak in which he was deceived.¹³ The first expedition took the route of Nira, Narsingpur, Pandharpur, Bijapur, the vicinity of the Krishna River, Hanam Sagar, Gulburga, Harpanhally and Chitraldrug. The second expedition took a more westerly route and marched right across Kolhapur territory by way of Wai, Wadgaon, Patan, Koznoli, Samangad, Nessari, Belgaum, Manoli, Halyal, Samurani, Rani Bennur, Sonda Bidnore, Anantpur, Hasan and Seringapatam.¹⁴

The Kolhapur Raja makes common cause with the Nizam.

These expeditions roused the enmity of Shahu's cousin Sambhaji of Kolhapur. Shahu did not like to be harsh towards his cousin and had so far left him undisturbed in his territory. The Kolhapur Raja had viewed the all-round expansion of Shahu's power in Maharashtra with an envious eye, and when Shahu's troops crossed the Krishna, Sambhaji began to concert measures to prevent further encroachments on what he regarded as his own sphere of influence. He demanded of Shahu to define clearly their respective territories, their sphere of influence and their mutual relations. There is extant a paper¹⁵ dated 30th December 1725 which contains terms of the treaty agreed between the two parties. According to the treaty Shahu agreed to let the country from Wai between the Krishna and the Ghatpurba remain in the possession of his cousin and share with him his southern conquests. This apparently did not satisfy Sambhaji who soon made common cause with the Nizam.

The negotiations between the Kolhapur party and the Nizam were undertaken by the Senapati, Chandrasen Jadhav, who had early deserted Shahu and sold himself to the Mughals for a Jagir. A mutilated letter¹⁶ from Sambhaji of February 26 helps not a little to unravel the tangled skein of this plot and eminently supports the account of Chitnis Bakhar where, and in Shahu's orders, Chandrasen is referred as a 'traitor'. Through Chandrasen Sambhaji sent overtures to the Nizam to join him in an effort to oppose Shahu's all-pervading claims of Chauth. To quote the letter Sambhaji says "I invited your aid to oppose the Pratinidhi's expedition in this quarter. The Nizam from Adoni has invited me to join him. I am stopping at Torgal to meet him. You must continue pressing my claims with the Nizam. You have rendered me great service in persuading the Nawab to break up with Shahu".

Sambhaji's proposals were most acceptable to the Nizam. He knew his safety lay in fomenting civil war between his Maratha neighbours and thus diverting and wearing out their strength. His recent friendship for Bajirao and Shahu had gained him his objective, the viceroyalty of the Deccan. His rival Mubaiz Khan was crushed; the Delhi Court had sufficient troubles to engage them in Malwa and Gujarat and had consented to his appointment as Subahdar. He had now no longer use of the stranglehold of the Maratha alliance and determined to use this occasion to shake off the hated claims of Chauth and Sardesmukhi.

¹² It is difficult to ascertain the date of the transaction. Hadiqat gives the year as 1138 A.H.

¹³ See Purandare Daftari I, No. 77, Rajwada, Vol. VI, No. 22.

¹⁴ See itinerary given at the end in the Appendix pp. 225—228, Peshwa Diary Ballaji Bajirao No. 3. I have checked it from the original paper in the Daftari and corrected it in places.

¹⁵ Kavyetihāsa Sangraha No. 14.

¹⁶ Shahu Diary, edited by Wad. This letter is in the collection of Mr. Joshi of Satara. It is quoted at full length in Sardessai's Riyasat. Madhya Vibhag I.

Shahu had so far shown himself willing to live in amity with his neighbours. Towards his cousin he had never expressed ill-will, though he had power and resources enough to extirpate him completely. He had believed in the friendly professions of the Nizam and had only a year back consented to commute his claims of Chauth over Hyderabad in face of opposition from the Peshwa. But by the middle of 1727 the armies of the Nizam and Sambhaji began to move ominously. In June Sambhaji's troops began causing trouble by making several inroads on Shahu's Southern frontier.¹⁷ The Raja still unaware of the dangerous alliance that was forming against him, repeated the expedition of the last year to complete the task left over. As soon as the Raja's best troops had passed beyond a striking distance the confederates showed their fangs. The Nizam declared his unwillingness to abide by the pact he had recently signed with Shahu till as he gave out, the dispute about the rival claims of the cousins was settled and in persuance he dismissed Shahu's officers¹⁸ and asked Shahu to submit his claims to his arbitration.

Declaration of hostilities.

As Duff puts it, "The Nizam commenced by a formal hearing of the claims of Sambhaji, in a demand made for an equal division of the revenue, and according to a prevalent custom in the Deccan, he sequestered the property in dispute by dismissing the mokasadars of Shahu until their respective rights should be equitably adjusted ; assuming this privilege as Viceroy he pretended to become the friend and arbiter of both parties".¹⁹

Shahu was dumb-founded : his ablest generals were far away in the south, and his enemies had caught him napping. Hurriedly he sent out orders to his officers to hold on their posts and courier after courier galloped south recalling the Peshwa and the Senapati by command of the King, who had been advised to yield to the arbitration of the Viceroy and had opened negotiations.

In keeping with Maratha nature Shahu was unwilling to forego a partition of his kingdom and rights with his cousin. The Peshwa on his arrival in May 1727 stoutly opposed the policy of surrender suggested by the Pratinidhi and advocated a line of strong resistance. Shahu gave orders for a general mobilisation and immediately on the conclusion of the rains a large Maratha army consisting mainly of light cavalry and led by Bajirao, the ablest leader and exponent of guerilla warfare, invaded the Nizam's territory towards Aurangabad.²⁰

As the Maratha army was plundering Jalna, the Nizam taking Raja Sambhaji with him set out to punish the Marathas. On 6th November 1727 a skirmish took place and the Marathas avoiding a contest now turned in the direction of Burhanpur. To save the place the Nizam hurried towards Burhanpur, but failed to come up with the Peshwa owing to his baggage and equipment. The Peshwa then struck in the direction of Gujarat towards the Nizam's jagirs in Surat. "The Nizam turned rein

¹⁷ See Shahu Diary p. No. 20, 208, 209, 212.

¹⁸ Shahu Diary.

¹⁹ P. 407, Vol. I, ed. of 1912.

²⁰ Hadiqat-ul-Alam. p. 138.

from the pursuit and set his face towards Poona, for desolating the place of the Peshwa's abode.²¹ He arrived as far as Poona, Pedgaon, but before he could advance news reached him of the Peshwa having re-entered Gandapur and Bajzapur parganas. Leaving his baggage in Ahmednagar fort the Nizam marched by the Kasar Bari pass to meet the Peshwa.²²

The Kasar Bari route passes through a mountainous region difficult for passage of an army and here the Peshwa blocked the Nizam's path. Grain and forage could not reach the Mughal army and water became scarce. Avoiding a close contest for which he was but ill-equipped, the Peshwa by his clever strategy brought the Nizam into a difficult situation from which he was unable to extricate himself. He sought for peace and a treaty was concluded on March 1728, which agreed not to oppose Shahu's claims of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over the six subhas of the Deccan and to offer no protection to Sambhaji.

Maratha expansion to the south and east now became a question of time and its legality was never challenged.

Lord Cornwallis's Diplomacy.

(By N. B. Ray, M.A.)

Lord Cornwallis assumed the charge of the Company's affairs in India in September 1786 and not long after he realised that Tipu was the most formidable and powerful chief amongst the many Princes of India. His overweening ambition, restless activity and grand military preparations foreboded a war at no distant future with the English. In 1787 he sent an embassy to France and courted the alliance of the Porte ; he pushed on the construction of military barracks and roads, French frigates carrying troops and munitions for his service appeared at Mahe ; in August 1787 the air was so thick with rumours of his intended invasion of Travancore that Cornwallis relinquished the idea of demanding the surrender of Guntur from the Nizam. These military preparations of Tipu were matched by a corresponding effort on the part of Lord Cornwallis. He set in order the finances, improved the military establishments and began to cultivate the goodwill and friendship of the Nizam and the Marathas (L. N. 7). The clouds that gathered soon faded away and comparative calm was restored in 1788. During this period of quiet Cornwallis succeeded in obtaining the cession of Guntur from the Nizam agreeably to the treaty of 1768. The latter, thereupon, demanded the fulfilment of another article of the same treaty which "pledged him the recovery of his ancestral dominion from Haidar Naique" and sent Mir Abul Qasim to Calcutta to enter into a new agreement for the realisation of this object. Cornwallis refused to "form new treaties with any power whatever" (Ross I. p. 426) but he wrote a letter to the Nizam, 7th July 1789, in which he held out a hope of the recovery of Carnatic Balaghat which then formed a part of Tipu's dominions and also promised the assistance of a quota of troops on condition that it should not be employed against the allies of the Company. Tipu's name was not included in the list.

All historians from the time of Wilks have condemned "this transaction which in their opinion was more calculated to produce a war than an avowed contract of defensive arrangement". It is, however, overlooked that Cornwallis pointed out

²¹ Hadiqat. p. 139.

²² S. P. D. X 50.

to His Highness in the same letter, the impropriety of such a demand on his part. "Your highness" he wrote "must be well assured that while treaties of peace and friendship exist with any Chief, negotiations that tend to deprive the Chief of any part of his possessions unprovoked on his part, must naturally create suspicions in his mind unfavourable to the reputation of your Highness and to the character of the Company, since the only grounds on which such negotiations would be carried on rest on a treaty existing upwards of twenty years, the execution of which is yet unclaimed and since no provocation has hitherto been made to justify a breach in the present peaceable and amicable understanding between each other". It is clear, therefore, that he made no categorical statement but held out a vague, dubious hope which added to the omission of Tipu's name from among the allies must have given great provocation to Tipu and precipitated hostility. But in the face of Tipu's missions to France and Turkey, his military preparations in 1787, actively renewed in 1789, the increasing friction between him and the Factors of Tellicherry and the consequent bitterness which is so well depicted in the letters of the Poona Residency, it can hardly be maintained any longer that Cornwallis contributed to bring about the war by this injudicious action. This appears like putting the cart before the horse. The real cause that engendered hostility was not this statement made by Lord Cornwallis relating to the recovery of Balaghat but rather the reciprocal suspicion and distrust which was a legacy of the previous war and which was fomented by Tipu's embassies to France and Constantinople and by Cornwallis' active negotiation and consequent friendliness with the Poona and Hyderabad courts.

The event that led to the outbreak of hostilities was, however, occasioned by Tipu's demands on the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the English. As soon as the Raja refused to comply with the demands, Tipu suddenly burst upon the Lines on the 29th December, 1789. This unprovoked attack on an ally was declared by Lord Cornwallis as an avowed act of hostility against the English. The Second Mysore War commenced.

Malet and Kennaway were now enjoined to knit together the Marathas and the Nizam firmly in an alliance which had been longed for by these country Powers years ago. The British Residents now bestirred themselves to great activity and set on foot active negotiations with the Courts of Poona and Hyderabad. But they had to work laboriously for more than six months before they could succeed in entangling them into the net of the alliance. Charles Ross and following him—other historians have remarked that both the Nizam and the Marathas eagerly embraced the alliance but the letters of the Poona Residency unfold for the first time the obstacles that Cornwallis had to overcome to bring them together. It required great tact and dexterity first to soothe Nana's irritated feelings consequent on the refusal of British assistance in 1786 and then win his co-operation. The policy of non-interference enjoined by the Act of Parliament had placed Cornwallis particularly in an awkward position. He besought the alliance of the Marathas to guard against Tipu's hostility but could not promise British co-operation in case of Tipu's invasion of Maratha territory. The Governor-General himself says pathetically in a letter to Malet, 7th September 1787, "we are not unaware of the difficulties of obtaining a knowledge of the minister's views in this respect without discovering an anxiety on our part. a point to be particularly guarded against; for if Nana were to suppose that our object is to obtain the assistance of the

Poona Government in the event of an invasion by Tipu, he would naturally require from us some specific declaration of our intentions in case Tipu should act hostilely towards his nation. As far as relates to a junction of the French and Tipu hostile to the Maratha State, you are empowered to make a free declaration ; but we cannot authorize any expectations of our assistance in case Tipu alone should renew the war with the Marathas ". To overcome this difficulty, he allured Nana by the prospect of recovery of lost dominions, "you will not hesitate ", the Governor-General continued in the same letter, "to endeavour to engage the assistance of the Poona Government by urging in the strongest manner the territorial advantages they will be likely to obtain by attacking Tipoo on their side whilst he is engaged with us ". Cornwallis did not rest content with this ; he sought to invite Nana to war by promise of British military assistance, "If Nana will in the event of this apprehended rupture agree to renew the war ", wrote Cornwallis on 26th September 1787 "you may promise that if he desires it, we will furnish three or four battalions of good infantry with a train of artillery to join the Maratha army ". (P.R. V. III L.N. 14). Cornwallis thus held out very tempting offers but the allies shrank from falling so easily into the trap laid out for them. They temporised and bargained. The negotiations went on during 1788 and 1789 but with Tipu's attack on Travancore Cornwallis pressed the Residents to bring them to a close as speedily as possible. Cornwallis now directed Malet to point out not merely the great benefits that would accrue to the Marathas by their participation but the disadvantages that would invariably attend an attitude of neutrality. As he wrote to Malet on 27th January 1790 "you will, therefore, at the time you make the above communication to Nana, convey to him likewise that we have no doubt of our own strength being sufficient to bring the war to an honourable issue but that if the burden of it shall be left entirely upon ourselves we shall probably not think it incumbent upon us in the course of future negotiations to attend to the interests of those of our friends who have contented themselves with looking on a scene in which the future peace and tranquillity of India was so materially implicated, with indifference. On the other hand you may inform him that if the Mahrattas will determine to make an immediate declaration against Tipu, we will engage to procure for them a full participation of the advantages that may be obtained by the war and being now set at liberty by Tipu's breach of the treaty, we will further agree to contract a defensive alliance with them for the mutual guarantee of the territories of which we may be respectively possessed at its conclusion ". (P. R. V. III L.N. 60).

The Governor-General's diplomacy seconded by the efforts of Malet succeeded at last in eliciting an official declaration of the Poona Court's intention to join the English in the war against Tipu on the 7th February (L.N. 67) but the stipulations which would form the basis of co-operation required to be settled. In the meanwhile, Malet, lukewarm at the advantages of the Maratha alliance, brought to the G. G.'s notice a counter-proposal of uniting "the Dutch of Cochin, the Portuguese of Goa, all the intermediate Zemindars, Rajas, Polygar and Malabar chieftains " for a vigorous offensive against Tipu "which, he wrote, added to the present good of facilitating our success against the enemy, the future and permanent one would follow of depriving a restless and ambitious tyrant of the faculty of molesting our tranquillity ". The G. G. with his instinctive perception of the realities of the situation, appreciated the internal weakness of the Dutch and the Portuguese and wrote to Malet, on 28th February 1790, "I apprehend that the funds of neither of those

nations would admit of their maintaining a considerable body of troops in the field as the infantry in the Dutch service is principally composed of foreigners of different nations and that of the Portuguese is in no esteem either for experience or discipline. I am afraid that they would not have it in their power to furnish us with Europeans that could render us useful service ”.

The G. G. was not therefore deflected from his course ; on the contrary, he wrote to Malet “ I think it incumbent upon me to agree to almost any conditions of that nature which they might appear determined to annex to their decision for making an immediate declaration in our favour ”. (L. N. 72).

The necessity of Maratha alliance, he impressed forcibly in another letter to Kennaway, on 7th June 1790, “ without the co-operation of the Marathas ”, the G. G. continued—“ I could not flatter myself with a certain prospect of the speedy conclusion and the decided success of the war ; besides that, if they had not taken part with us, there would always have been reason to apprehend that their jealousy of getting the Nizam out of their hands might in the course of the contest have even inclined them to take part against us ”.

The alliance with the Marathas was rightly deemed to be essential to the success^s of war. Hence they required to be treated with great consideration. He put Malet particularly on guard on this point ; for he wrote, “ if at any time, it should be thought for the good of the common cause that larger body of troops from Madras should be employed with the army of the Nizam than could possibly be spared from the Bombay establishment to join the Mahrattas, yet it may probably be inexpedient that such a measure should be adopted unless the Poona Government could be induced to join in recommending it ”. (L. N. 104).

In spite of the Residents' utmost efforts and the G. G.'s circumspection and caution, the negotiations were delayed ; the two most knotty questions that distracted the British Residents at Poona and Hyderabad were the adjustment of territorial claims and the eradication of mutual jealousy and suspicion which kept the Nizam and the Marathas apart. “ The greatest difficulty ” Malet wrote to Cornwallis, 5th March 1790, “ that I now apprehend, is in my very reasonable expectation that in lieu of the exclusive conquests to be made for the Peshwa and Nawab Nizam Ali Khan under their plea of ancient possessions, the company shall exclusively possess all acquisitions that may be made by their own forces ”.

The difference of opinion in respect of the share in the partition of conquests became so acute as to threaten at one time the rupture of all negotiations. Malet's perseverance and tenacity ultimately succeeded in cutting the gordian knot but the task of uniting the Nizam and the Marathas seemed almost insuperable. With his clear vision Cornwallis foresaw the difficulties and wrote to Malet on 10th May 1790, - “ I have long foreseen the probability of your courts' being jealous of our friendship with the Nizam and I trust that, in my answer to the propositions transmitted to me by Capt. Kennaway, I have been sufficiently guarded on that head. We must be able to keep this circumstance constantly in our mind during the continuance of the war ”. He also warned Kennaway on this point by unfolding the Nizam's real motives in joining the war. “ My views ”, wrote Cornwallis, 7th June 1790, “ are at present entirely confined to the reduction of Tipu Saheb's power and to the speedy termination of the war but the first and favourite object of the others (the Nizam and his minister) to be the emancipation of His Highness from the power of the Marathas ”.

and that they are such short-sighted politicians that for the chance of obtaining it they would be glad to see a coldness between us and the Poona Government without considering that such an event might possibly so raise our affairs as to put it out of our power to effect what they desire". Cornwallis had, therefore, to harmonize the most divergent interests and elements. Throughout this period till July 1790 he had to exercise the utmost vigilance, tact and delicacy and it can be said without hesitation that the Triple Alliance is a testimony as much to his moderation and sound judgment as to his political insight.

Diplomacy during the war.

General Medows commenced his operations in 1790, and without much opposition succeeded in capturing important places like Carur and Aravakurichi during the months of June and July, but in spite of his most pressing requisition, the two Indian allies could not be induced to begin hostilities. Nana, a past master in cunning and slow-witted diplomacy, evaded and procrastinated. The Nizam, weak and imbecile, waited and watched. The British Residents naturally became very much incensed but Cornwallis held the reins tight in his hand and wrote to Kennaway, 20th September 1790, "I must acknowledge that the dilatoriness of His Highness and the Maharattas in proceeding to action has been no small disappointment to me and it has already been highly prejudicial to the interests of the confederacy. But..... I wish you to continue the same temper and moderation in your remonstrance which I have recommended to Mr. Malet". The capture of Coimbatore by Medows in August 1790 convinced the allies of the undoubted superiority of the British and the Marathas thereupon, flung themselves into the war by an invasion of Tipu's territories. By quick and effective blows Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan made himself master of Parushgar, Betigeri and other places. This career of triumph was, however, suddenly checked by the defeat inflicted on Col. Floyd at Satiamangalam on 13th September, 1790. Cornwallis rightly saw that this disaster would damp the zeal of the allies for war and therefore wrote to Malet to dissipate Nana's apprehensions by effective arguments. He asked Malet to point out that the "small disadvantage which we have sustained was principally due to their slowness in entering Tipoo's country", and "also to describe in the most incontrovertible manner the decided superiority of our troops and leaders over those of the enemy, by desiring them to advert that so small a corps as under the command of Col. Floyd had been able without suffering considerably to make head for three following days against Tipoo and his whole army". He went farther and sought to keep Nana steady by raising in Nana's mind the spectre of dangerous consequences of Tipu's victory. "Should they (Marathas) allow Tipoo", wrote Cornwallis, "to acquire any additional strength at our expense, it would certainly before long be attended with the most dangerous consequences to their country". (L. N. 159).

Cornwallis began to hope against hope that Col. Floyd's disaster would soon be redeemed by the more brilliant operations of General Medows but the course of events took a turn for the worse. Tipu not only foiled General Medows' plan of the invasion of Mysore plateau but swept with fury into Coimbatore and Baramahal (October and November 1790) and carried everything before him. This was a great crisis in the fortunes of the English. History seemed to repeat itself. Tipoo's terrific thrusts not only recalled the earlier reverses of Hastings' time but also threatened the safety of the Confederacy. The G. G. rose equal to the occasion and to cope with the crisis announced his determination of personally assuming the command of the war,

"which", he wrote, "would be considered by the allies not only as a pledge of our security but also may tend to animate and encourage our allies to persevere with firmness in the favourable disposition which they have lately shown to perform their engagements". (Ross, Minute of the Governor-General, November 1790).

With Cornwallis' appearance upon the scene the war entered upon a new phase. He laid his pen temporarily aside and assuming the command of the army on the 29th January 1791, suddenly swept into the table-land of Mysore and encamped at Mugly on the 23rd February. Kolar and Huskotta fell before him in March 1791 and Cornwallis awaited the junction of the Nizam's cavalry for marching on Bangalore but neither earnest solicitations nor warm remonstrances could induce Tejwant to break ground. Undeterred by the absence of the Nizam's cavalry, Cornwallis, alone and unaided by the reinforcement of the allied cavalry, struck the way towards Bangalore and stormed it on the night of 21st March. In spite of this crowning victory, Cornwallis could not push on, on account of the scarcity of grain and forage and the sudden attacks of Tipu's light horse. An efficient body of cavalry was the need of the hour but Raja Tejwant, the Nizam's commander, still lurked behind. The letters of the Poona Residency reveal that the vacillation of the Nizam's policy at this time was equalled by the audacity of their cunning and perfidy. To effect the junction with the Raja's cavalry, Cornwallis marched back to Chintamanipet 8th April but the Raja refused to move. Six days later, April 13, the two armies suddenly sighted each other and effected the union. Ordinary commanders would have let themselves under such circumstances be swayed by passion and given vent to their pent-up feelings but Cornwallis was not merely a soldier; he was a first-rate diplomatist. He kept his head and showed marks of attention and respect to the Raja. As he wrote to Kennaway, 14th April 1791, "I yesterday fired a salute and conducted Raja Tejwant and the principal officers along the front of our line which was under arms and had afterwards some conversation with him at my tent". (L. N. 291).

After effecting the union with the Raja, Cornwallis refitted his army with ample stores and provisions and again turned towards Seringapatam. The march of Cornwallis was now seriously impeded by clouds of Tipu's light horse. It was the task of the Nizam's cavalry to repel them but they showed utter want of alacrity and caused much distress and embarrassment by being mixed with Tipu's troops and engaging in a scuffle for forage with the English guards. Regardless of difficulties Cornwallis headed his way and on the 15th May reached Arikera within the vicinity of Tipu's capital. Here the Lion of Mysore took his stand and confronted Cornwallis. An obstinate battle ensued, but Tipu was defeated.

Ever since the publication by Charles Ross of the letter in which Cornwallis applauded the action of the Nizam's army in the action of the 15th May, the world has been led to believe that the troops of the "Faithful Ally" contributed an important share to the success of the allied cause, but a letter of the Poona Residency No. 341 brings to light the real nature of the part played by the Nizam's army. In this significant letter written on the 10th July to Kennaway, Cornwallis after referring to the various delinquencies of the Raja writes-- "The Rajah's rhodomontade respecting his behaviour in the action of the fifteenth is really so absurd that I cannot bring myself to enter into a serious refutation of it. The truth is that the cavalry showed on that occasion a better countenance and more goodwill than I had expected from them and I was induced to express my satisfaction in the hope that it would

operate as an incitement to their acting with more spirit in future than they had previously manifested but it so happened that the victory was completely decided and gained before his cavalry came up and instead of his contributing to render it more complete, he placed his troops directly in front of a body of our infantry that I was exceedingly anxious to push forward on a piece of broken ground, in which cavalry could not have acted with advantage and prevented their pressing the enemy in their retreat at a crisis when it would have been most particularly desirable. The Raja cannot possibly forget that just at that time, I sent Captain Dallas to him to desire that he would make a movement with his cavalry to the left that he might not impede the advance of our infantry".¹ This letter shows not merely the disgraceful part the Raja played but incidentally gives an insight into Cornwallis' diplomacy. With his wonderful self-possession he connived not only at the open treachery of the Raja but wrote a complimentary letter to the Nizam, thanking the Nizam's army for its honourable part and presenting four field-pieces, taken from the enemy, to the Nizam as a mark of his personal respect. It was this prudence and sagacity not the insolent hysterics of a self-conceited pompous pro-Consul, that brought the Lion of Mysore down to his knees. Any insolent outburst at this stage would have seriously prejudiced the interest of the Confederacy on which depended the success of the war.

The Victory of Arikera opened Seringapatam to Cornwallis' attacks but a complete failure of supplies brought all military operations to a stand-still and Cornwallis was compelled to beat a hasty retreat. During this period of active campaigning from February to May the Maratha commanders had altered and realtered and then flung aside all plans for co-operation with the G. G. and had kept their forces engaged in their own cause: Parushuram Bhau had busied himself with the siege of Dharwar and the conquest of the territory between the Kistna and Tungabhadra, and Haripant in coqueting with the Nizam and desultory campaigns. Cornwallis, however, had not proceeded far when he suddenly came across the Maratha army under the two great commanders. On this occasion too, Cornwallis showed his wonted calm, paid warm tributes to them and expressed in a letter to the Nizam the highest approbation of their "zeal and activity in marching towards" him. In keeping with this spirit, he showed a sweet reasonableness and spirit of compromise in all discussions with the Maratha commanders, whether on the question of the disposition of the troops during the rains or the reception of Apaji Ram.

Through the mazes of Tipu's intriguing negotiations for peace from January 1791 onwards, the British Residents invoked and applied this principle. The result was that all the attempts made by Tipu—his letter to General Medow, January, the intervention of Col. Defresne, the Commandant of Pondicherry, February, Ali Raza and Sher Newaz's mission to Chitaldrug, March, Pan-Islamic appeals to Nizam, April and July, Apaji Ram's and Mehed Ali's mission, April and May—came to nothing. In June, however, the embassy of Apaji Ram appeared to bear fruit, when Cornwallis consented to receive him at the instance of Hari Pant. The arrival of this envoy in Bangalore, however, provoked a sharp difference of opinion between Hari Pant and Cornwallis. The former wanted to receive him in camp while the latter vehemently opposed the idea. Soon other points of altercation arose; the atmosphere often became tense; rumours of secret correspondence between Hari

¹ For the Raja's faithlessness and double-dealing, see L. N. 337 and 341.

Pant and Tipu circulated widely and news was sedulously spread that peace had been made with the Marathas but all complications and difficulties were eased as much by the charm of Cornwallis' personal address, daintiness of his arguments, as by the sanity of his judgment, so vividly reflected in two letters of the Poona Residency Nos. 332 and 361. Apaji's refusal to agree to the conditions offered by the allies brought his embassy to a failure and vigorous preparations were once more set on foot. Parushuram Bhau separated from the main army and repaired to Sera but promised to participate in the co-operative enterprise which was to commence at the end of the rains. This interval of rest Cornwallis utilised in breaking down Tipu's impregnable fortresses that hindered communication and transit of supplies. Hosur fell in July, Nandidrug in October, and Cornwallis was ready to recommence his march but none of the allies appeared nor showed any signs of appearing. November and December passed away but the allies were still far away. They merely repeated the game of slow-witted cunning.

Entering his tents on the 23rd August, Prince Sikandar Jah reached Bangalore after an interval of six months on 18th January whence the snail quickened its pace, reaching Cornwallis at Huttaridrug on the 25th January. But even at this late season Parushuram Bhau did not appear, inspite of the repeated calls of the Governor-General. He frittered away his energy in the conquest of Chitaldrug and Bednur. This threw Cornwallis into utter perplexity, but in this moment of crisis and adversity his courage and energy did not flag. He arranged a redisposition of his own army and that of Abercromby and then with his mighty military machine rolled towards the capital.

On the 5th February 1792, the allied army encamped seven miles to the north of Seringapatam. Next night he made a terrific attack which swept away the right and centre of Tipu's army and placed him "in possession of the enemy redoubts and great part of the island". This successful attack and the encircling of Seringapatam on the north and south of Kaveri heralded the fall of the capital and Tipu was compelled to open final negotiations for peace, which fruitioned into the Treaty of Seringapatam by which Tipu surrendered one-half of his dominions, promised to pay three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees, and to release all prisoners. "We have at length concluded our Indian war handsomely", wrote Cornwallis to the Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas, March 4, 1792, "and I think as advantageously as any reasonable person could expect. We have effectually crippled our enemy without making our friends too formidable". (Ross Vol. II). This treaty, the handiwork of Lord Cornwallis' diplomacy, has, however, been criticised as being short-sighted and erring in moderation for it cost the English men and money in a Third Mysore War.

Two facts are however entirely ignored by these critics. One is that Lord Cornwallis could not impose his own terms; he had to dictate them in concert with the allies amongst whom Nana and Sindhia had become particularly apprehensive of the English ascendancy and become partial to Tipu. Malet's letter (to the G. G., 23rd October 1791, L.N. 385 and L.N. 344). The other is that "if the three Governors, Peshwa and the Nizam were to dine at Seringapatam, with the old Queen of Mysore sitting at the head of the table", Cornwallis would have to face the risk of the dissolution of the entente and prolonged war whose results were uncertain. It was therefore an act of statesmanship on the part of Cornwallis to accept what he gained than to risk all by a mad venture.

It appears that the significance of Cornwallis' achievement has not been properly understood. Wedged between two imperious and annexationist administrators Hastings and Wellesley, his work as a builder of the British Empire has not struck the imagination of historians who seem to have been carried away by the rhodomontade of the Marquis of Wellesley.

The storming of Seringapatam has been said to be a success equal to Plassey, but it is hardly realised that the storming of Tipu's capital was the necessary sequel to the Treaty of Seringapatam. After 1792, Tipu still remained the Sultan of Mysore but the magic of his power was gone. The war and the treaty sapped away the foundations of his military, financial and economic resources. The cession of Baramahal and Coorg broke down the natural barrier that protected his country—the destruction of the chain of fortresses demolished the double wall that enormously strengthened the defences of his country and did away with the bases of his military power; the cession of Dindigul, and the fertile territory of the Doab to the allied powers, deprived him of the granaries of his country. With the natural barrier and the chain of fortresses broken down, with the finances utterly dislocated and economic resources exhausted, with the army weakened by the loss of some of his finest commanders and its morale destroyed, Tipu naturally became a weak prey and it is no wonder, therefore, that when General Harris and General Stewart rolled towards Tipu's capital in 1799 from the east and from the west, Tipu's kingdom fell to pieces like a gossamer web.

The estimate made of Lord Cornwallis by his biographer Seton Kerr, a statesman "who induced a military despot to agree to the terms of a treaty in which every step might have led to a snare or pitfall; possessed qualities which ought to mitigate censure", hardly does render justice to the great Governor-General who effectually crippled the most dangerous enemy that the British Empire had to contend with. No other potentate in India has displayed such resourcefulness in diplomacy and stubbornness in hostility to the British. By the effective reduction of such a foe Lord Cornwallis prepared the conditions wherein Lord Mornington could strut and hurl decrees on the effete Princes of India. Lord Cornwallis is entitled to rank not merely as one of the greatest internal administrators but also as one of the founders of British Paramountcy in India.

The Grandhavari of the Zamorins.

(By S. V. Venkateswara, M.A.).

The history of Malabar has yet to be written, said Sewell half a century ago¹, and no serious attempt has yet been made at a historical reconstruction. Among the indigenous sources of information is the *grandhavari*, a manuscript record of daily transactions kept on palmyra leaves in Calicut, Cochin and some suburban places. The following are translations of extracts made by me from the Calicut *grandhavari* which was made accessible to me by the kindness of Vidvān Mānavikrama Ettan Raja, the late Zamorin of Calicut. The dates are in the Kollam Era which commences from August 25, 825 A. D., and runs in the Zodial months. The language is Malayālam, and the script Vatteṭutta.

K. E. 747, Vrschikom (Scorpio), 28,—Tuesday, 27th November 1571 A. D.

¹ *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 195.

On the 5th of Vṛschikom 747, on the Tiruvādīra day (Constellation Ādrā) Mānavikrama levelled to the ground the fortress Chāliyam of the Rakshasas and conferred blessing and prosperity on his subjects.

NOTE.—Chāliyam is near the historical site of Tyndis figuring as a sea-port in the classical accounts of Malabar trade. Permission to erect a fort here had been given to Vasco da Gama. It had been put up accordingly. But the Portuguese exacted tolls on all goods passing by Chāliyam on land and sea and not excluding the Zamorin's own military equipments. So the Zamorin [Mānavikrama is a title of the Zamorins of Calicut] made war on the Portuguese [Rākshasas are demons in Hindu mythology, and the opprobrious term is applied to the Portuguese here] and destroyed the fort, remains of which may still be observed to the west of Chāliyam bridge from the railway train.

The language shows the intensity of Indian feeling at the misdeeds of Portugal, 'a series of atrocities' as Sewell terms them². The Editor of Gaspar Correa's *Lendas da India* describes in his prologue the barbarity of his countrymen and 'their frauds, extortions and sanguinary feuds.' About the end of the 16th century Venkatādhvari of Kānchipuram wrote his *Vivagunādarsa*. He describes the Portuguese as 'devoid of tenderness' and 'despicable.'

K. E. 759, Edavom (Bull) 26th,—Saturday, May 23, 1584.

The Zamorin gave sword and cloth to Malancheri Paṭanāyar and the military chieftain paid 3,150 paṇam as fee.

NOTE.—Paṭanāyar was the head of a desom or sub-district. Sword and cloth are emblems of Malabar feudalism, and this is the first instance recorded in the *grandhavari* of the investiture of feudal rights. By taking sword and cloth from the Rajah's hand the Nayar acknowledged him as suzerain and paid a fee. He was required to maintain a quota of troops. The lands of the vassals could be confiscated on their dying without heirs; their heirs had to pay reliefs on coming into possession of their ancestral holdings; and they were obliged to have the permission of the Zamorin to adopt children³. With the Malayalee Hindu land was rather the connecting link between the people on the land⁴. Each state was partitioned into gradations of military divisions under the Nāduvālī, Desavālī and Tarwad. Every division and sub-division was designated by the allotted quota of Nayars it was required to bring into the field⁵. And the feudalistic Nayars were difficult to control, like the feudal vassals of mediaeval Europe. We find it mentioned in the Miss. Diary of the Tellicherry factory (under date 2nd May, 1746): "The Nayars being heads of the Calicut people resemble the Parliament and do not obey the king's dictates in all things, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts." A comparison with Rajput feudalism suggests itself⁶.

K. E. 769, Kumbham (date blank) Aquarius—1594, February.

Investiture of Kaidamani Itticheri Devi Nettiyar as wife of the Zamorin. She was presented lamps of gold, silver, brass and iron. The Zamorin was now in Vemmanad near Guruvayoor.

NOTE.—This temple was originally under a committee of four Nambudiri Brahmans, as stated in the Kerala Māhātmyam (Palghat, 1912), but by now the Zamorin had apparently become one of the trustees.

K. E. 771, Edavom (Bull) 9,—Thursday, May 6th 1596.

The Zamorin was at Varakkal (near Calicut). A procession carrying lights and festoons left Calicut for Payyanāḍkara (Badagara) and thence for Nādāpuram, receiving homage and presents on the way.

NOTE.—Shows that the Zamorin's sway extended over the southern parts of North Malabar district.

Edavom 10th—Friday, May 7th.

News of pollution caused by birth of the Elaya Erādi of Nediyiruppu (*i.e.*, the 6th member of the Zamorin family).

NOTE.—Shows that the dynasty had shrunk to 6 members. In K. E. 773 (A.D. 1597) the Zamorin was only 16 years old and his next junior was only 13. The latter succeeded in K. E. 776 (A.D. 1600).

² Sewell: *Forgotten Empire*, p. 117.

³ Graeme: Report (1822), p. 5.

⁴ Mr. Logan's letter dated 12th February 1883—Malabar Collector's office MSS.

⁵ Warden's Report to the Board of Revenue, 12th September 1815, paragraph 63.

⁶ C. Indian Culture through the Ages: Vol. II, pp. 143, 144.

K. E. 775, Tulam (Libra) 15th—Tuesday, 16th October 1599.

- Sword and cloth given to the fourth Nayar of Chālappurom (Calicut). Fee paid, 3150 pañam.

K. E. 783, Makara (Capricornus) 1st—Tuesday, December 29, 1607.

- Sword and cloth given to Kongússeri Nayar. Fee paid, 3150 pañam.

K. E. 789, Mithunam (Twins) 14th—Sunday, June 12, 1614.

- Zamorin at Tiruvanjikkulam (Cranganore). Gifts of rice to certain vassals.

K. E. 809, Dhanus (Sagittarius) 6—Friday, December 13, 1633.

From Trikkāvu (Ponnani) the Zamorin proceeded to Tirunāvāyi in a litter as he was lame. He attended the Mahāmakhām festival there.

NOTE.—At this festival held every twelfth year, in the presence of his chiefs and subjects, the Zamorin underwent a “troublesome ceremony of cutting his own throat on a public scaffold erected for the purpose”⁷. What was the full significance of the ceremony cannot be definitely determined; but I see no objection to adopting Grant Allon’s theory of the Human Gods⁸. “The divine king or priest is suffered by his people to retain office, or rather house the god-head till by some outward defect or visible manifestation he shows them that he is no longer equal to the performance of his divine functions. But some people have not thought it safe to wait. In such cases they fix a term beyond which the king may not reign and at the close of which he must die, the term being short enough to prevent the possibility of degeneration in the meanwhile”. Malabar seems to have passed through both the stages. At first the Zamorin was compelled to die in the plenitude of health and vigour, and later on in the 17th century he was allowed to retain the throne if he could protect himself against all comers⁹. In the latter case a jubilee was proclaimed throughout the land on the completion of the twelve years. “The Zamorin was seated in his tent on a spacious plain; and any four of the guests who made bold to go through the thirty or forty thousands of his guards and kill him could gain the crown for himself¹⁰”. A description of this ceremony is given in the Māmānkāpāttū—a Malayalam ballad which deserves to be far better known. The festival was held for the last time in 1743¹¹.

K. E. 824 (A. D. 1648-49).

Sword and cloth given by the Zamorin at Trichur to the Nayar of Kudiravattam (near Ottapalam). The Nayar gave 200 pañam to the *Kāryasthas* (court officials), 150 to the Nettiyar (Zamorin’s wife) and 11,500 pañam to the Zamorin. He was required to “protect, even as thy ancestors did, the god of Tiruvilvāmala, the god Ayyappan at Chemmankulankara and the Chettis, Vellālas and Īluvas, and other castes of people.”

NOTE.—Two obligations thus flowed from feudalism—the protection of castes and tribes in their social status in their territory, and of the rights of temples, their properties and their traditional modes of worship and control.

Investiture of the Vettath Raja (Bētātnād near Tirur) with the coronet. The presents made by the Raja are detailed and show the relative prices prevailing at the time: 90 bags of rice worth 8 pañam each; 3,000 cocoanuts at 13 pañam per thousand; 25 palams (40 tolas) sugar worth 4 pañam; gingelly oil worth 3 pañam per *sodhina* (big pot measure); 1 *idangali* (measure) of ghee worth 1 pañam; 50 *idangali* of salt worth 1 pañam. The Zamorin’s fee was 3,000 pañams.

NOTE.—The *Panam* was a small gold coin worth one-fifth of a rupee at this time. Later it appreciated to a fourth, four-fifteenths and two sevenths¹².

⁷ Hamilton’s *New Account of the East Indies*, pp. 303 and 310.

⁸ Allon: *Evolution of the Idea of God*. Chapter X; p. 89.

⁹ If he could not, he had either to cut his throat or to ‘retire into a temple’. See Day: *Land the Perumals*, p. 43.

¹⁰ Hamilton, *op. cit.* p. 310.

¹¹ Gaillard: *Mémoirs Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XII, p. 103.

¹² Buchanan: *Travels*, Vol. II: pp. 163, 183. Sir W. Elliot: *Coins of South India*.

Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah's petition to the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

[By Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, D. Litt. (Paris.)].

There is a series of documents in the Saidiya Library of Hyderabad (Deccan) which throws some light on the affairs of the Nawab Walajah of Carnatic with regard to his debts and his dealings with the East India Company. The documents are known as "Maswaddai Haqiqat" or "Draft containing the truth of the Matter". In these papers the Nawab has put forward the vindication of his claims *vis-a-vis* the Company and has disproved the alleged claims of the Company and his other private creditors.

Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah kept a splendid court in the suburbs of Madras. His wasteful and extravagant mode of life plunged him deep in debts to meet his current expenses ; he was perennially in need of money. He contracted huge loans with the Government of Fort St. George as well as with private creditors who were mostly the English servants of the Company. The money was advanced at 36 to 48 per cent interest. Before taking the loans he used to give a "Nazar" or "presents" ; and in case he could not give the "Nazar" he paid interest for that also which was called "Sud-i-Nazar". The creditors received assignments of land revenue of the Nawab's territory to recover their debts. The Nawab mortgaged certain parts of his Dominions and granted to the East India Company the territory immediately surrounding Madras. The creditors generally bled white the poor and helpless inhabitants of the country and divided the spoils among themselves. The moral atmosphere at that time seems to have been as pestilential at Fort St. George as at Fort William. In Bengal the servants of the Company exploited the change of administration to their personal profit, by trading free of taxation, while in the Carnatic they sought advantage by lending money at huge rates of interest to the Nawab of Arcot and other landed gentry. In course of time these debts had become regular speculative investments. The company recognised them as valid and assisted in their collection.

A servant of the Company named Paul Benfield was the notorious organiser of speculative investment in debts, in which some of the influential members of Parliament were also interested. He claimed a huge sum of money from the Nawab and petitioned the Madras Council to assist him to recover the same. Paul Benfield had acquired a corrupt influence in the English politics of the day. He was caricatured as "Count Rupee" with a black face going about in Hyde Park riding on a stout cob.¹ Critics of Government drew the attention of Parliament towards the scandalous dealings of the servants of the Company with the Nawab of Arcot. Burke made this affair the subject of his famous speech in which he exposed the evils of the system of administration which gave scope to the corrupt elements in the Company to exploit the people of the country to their utter ruin.

During the Governorship of Mr. Wynch, Tanjore was subjugated and annexed to the territory of the Nawab of Arcot. The Court of Directors condemned the deposition of the Raja and recalled the Governor who was held responsible for the transaction. His successor, Lord Pigot, was given instruction to reinstate the Raja. Lord Pigot announced the restoration of the Raja in spite of the appeals of the Nawab. At this time Paul Benfield intimated to the authorities at Madras that he held assignments on the revenues of Tanjore for the loans advanced by him to the

¹. Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 355.

Nawab. He hoped to profit by the recognition of the Nawab's authority to the territory of Tanjore. Benfield manipulated things so as to get the Commander-in-Chief and the members of the Madras Council to support the Nawab. The bitter opposition between Lord Pigot and the members of his Council resulted in the former's arrest and imprisonment, in which condition he soon after died. When this anarchy held sway in Madras, the supreme Government of Fort William remained inactive.

When the Court of Directors was apprised of the state of affairs at Madras, the subject was brought forward in the General Court where it was moved "that it be recommended to the Court of Directors to take such measures as shall appear to them most effectual for restoring Lord Pigot to the full exercise of the powers vested in him by the commission from the Company, as Governor and President of the settlement of Madras, and for inquiry into the conduct of the principal actors in imprisoning his Lordship and dispossessing him of the exercise of the legal powers wherewithal he was invested". The resolution was carried by 382 votes against 140. A little later the opponents of Lord Pigot succeeded in carrying a resolution in the Court of Directors condemning his conduct for receiving certain presents from the Nawab of Arcot.

On the 7th of May 1777, the Court again met and resolved that Lord Pigot's restoration should immediately be followed by his recall in order to facilitate an inquiry into his conduct. A temporary Government to administer the country during the proposed inquiry was appointed with Thomas Rumbold as the President and Governor. As the result of the inquiry the guilty members of the Council were recalled and tried before the Court of King's Bench. Paul Benfield was also recalled, but he managed to return to India in 1781.

According to the records of the Company, Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah owed 22,25,373 pagodas (huns) to the Company after the fall of Pondicherry in 1761. In 1766 the debt of the Nawab to the Company after a careful scrutiny was reduced to 13,65,104 pagodas (nearly 50 lakhs of rupees). The wars with Hyder Ali had completely exhausted the resources of the Madras Government. Bengal had contributed 265 lakhs of rupees to the Madras Government to carry on warfare against Hyder Ali. At this time the Madras Government had gone absolutely bankrupt. The Nawab had incurred more debts from the Company during the past fifteen years to run his day-to-day administration. The mismanagement of his revenues had exhausted his treasury. When Macartney was appointed Governor of Madras in 1780, he promptly took up the question of the Nawab's debts and after a careful scrutiny compelled the Nawab to assign his revenues to the Governor of Madras, for a term of five years, reserving one-fifth of the collection for his personal expenses. The Nawab questioned the figures and tried to prove that the Company owed him 14,72,515 (pagodas) i.e., nearly 50 lakhs of rupees. But Macartney refused to recognise the Nawab's claims. He appointed a committee of assigned revenues on his own initiative in order to introduce reforms in the revenue administration of the Nawab. The net revenue was increased from six to twelve lakhs of pagodas. In three years Macartney succeeded in collecting nearly thirty-four lakhs of pagodas or over a crore of rupees to recover the Company's debts from the Nawab. The Nawab was averse to this arrangement and used his best endeavours to secure its abolition. He sent a mission to Fort William to induce the Government there to cancel the arrangement. Macpherson and Coote were in favour of annulling the

assignment. Coote wanted to get special powers from the Governor-General's Council to enforce the decision in case Macartney evaded to comply with it. He wanted to retain the assignment of revenues until the Nawab's debts were liquidated. When the matter came before the Governor-General's Council it was decided to cancel the assignment, but no provisional powers were given to Coote to enforce the decision of the Council. The whole attitude of the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, remains obscure with regard to this affair. It was he who proposed that Coote should be given special powers to enforce the decision of the Governor-General's Council. But this was probably simply to show off; his private opinion being in favour of retaining the assignment. And Macartney knew this. Macartney refused to render up the assignment, in spite of the orders to that effect from Bengal. But in 1785 the Court of Directors, after considering Nawab Walajah's petition decided in favour of annulling the assignment. Macartney resented this decision and resigned and went home.

In December 1784, the Court of Directors decided to promote a settlement with the Nawab, deprecating the difference that had arisen between him and Lord Macartney. They addressed a letter to the Nawab which runs thus :—

“ With respect to the assignment Your Highness was pleased to make of the revenues of your country in December 1781, we consider that transaction as a proof of Your Highness being impressed with the necessity of the defence of the Carnatic ; but having by the cession of the assignment, manifested to Your Highness and to all India, how little we wished to encroach on the rights or possessions of the native princes, it is just we take effectual care to guard our own. By the peculiar relation with the British Government and our possessions in the Carnatic bear to those of Your Highness and the Raja of Tanjore, as well as by several specific agreements, the sword for the general defence of that country is placed in our hands, and no consideration will induce us for a moment to surrender it. Towards its support in peace and defence in war, it is reasonable that country should contribute to its protection ¹ ”.

The documents in the Saidiya Library deal at length with the question of debts. In order to strengthen his case, the Nawab has enumerated the services rendered by his house to the English nation in India. In this connection he has presented the background of the history of that period in the shaping of which he himself played a by no means insignificant role. He has given a brief description of the struggle between the English and French for supremacy in the Carnatic. He also makes reference to the dispute for succession which ensued at the death of Asaf Jah I and which was further complicated by similar contention in the Carnatic in which the English and French were compelled to intervene. Other matters of historical importance referred to in these papers are the following :—

Dupleix's diplomacy ; the affairs of the Northern Sirkars and Tanjore ; rise of Hyder Ali ; the affairs of Madura and Tinnevelly ; and Yusuf Khan's rebellion.

It goes without saying that great historical interest attaches to these documents. I am preparing their complete English translation which will soon be ready for publication.

¹. British Power in India—by Auber, Vol. II, p. 24.

More Light on Sir Thomas Munro.

[By Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., (London), F. R. Hist. S., F. I. P. A.]

One word about the title. It is more light, not new light, on the great administrator. The object is to present a few writings of Munro, among many still unpublished ones in the author's possession, without any interpretation by himself.

There are four groups of selections—Salem, Bellary, Madras and Presidency. All of them are letters from Munro to his official superiors.

I. *Salem Selections.*—There are three of them, the first describing the general poverty of the people, the second pointing to the laborious duties of a Collector, and the third giving his opinion on administration of justice, all written when Munro was a young Assistant Collector.

(1) "There now remains only one part of your letter on which I have any observations to make. You say that a greater share of the produce is drawn from this country for revenue than ever was taken by any Government and that this share amounts to one half. My opinion on this subject is very different from all that I have been able to discover from constant attention to it from the reports of many of the rayets themselves and of many Enamdar who have no interest in concealing the truth from disputes between partners where the quantity of grain has been ascertained and from other sources of information. I am convinced that the share of Government is not on an average more than one third—that there are very few instances in which it is so much as one half—and that whereas the farmers have the means of giving their lands the necessary degree of culture it is as low as one fourth and one fifth. The general poverty of the rayets is not to be attributed to the rents paid to their present or former masters but to the violent and comprising [?] manner of making the collections and to the arbitrary system of exacting fines under the old Government. It was carried to such a length that there was hardly a single rayet above this poorer class who did not pay under Tipoo more in fines than in rent and a man was often deprived at once of all that he had saved himself and inherited from his father. We rescued the country with the Patels and the honest rayet—the master farmer—and the labourer almost all equally destitute. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that failures happen—for the most trifling losses occasion them. The rayets cannot become rich all on a sudden—there is no remedy for their present poverty—but time and persevering patiently in assessing them moderately for a long course of years. They feel no doubt the inconvenience in many cases of being constrained to perform their engagements. They would like better to be absolved from them and to have half their rents remitted and they would be better still pleased to pay no rent at all—but while a revenue is wanted for the purposes of Government—all that can be done is to adopt such a system as may without losing sight of this object dispense to the inhabitants the greater possible share of security and happiness. You have declared what you think this plan ought to be—and I have here thrown out some objection to it, because I conceived that its tendency would be to direct the labour of the country from the arable lands to the less profitable cultivation of waste."(a)

(2) "I must make frequent circuits to examine on the spot, if any extra collections have been made from the rayets, if they have been left perfectly uncontrolled

(a) Madras Records. Public Sundries: Letters and Reports of Sir Thomas Munro. Report on the method of a permanent lease settlement. To Major Alexander Read, Collector of the Baramahals, Darampoory, 31st July, 1796, para. 13.

in taking and rejecting land, if they have ploughed any fields privately in order to evade the payment of the rent, and if they have reported all, whether the curnums have or have not suppressed a part in their accounts. I must visit every tank repaired to judge whether or not the work corresponds with the charges and I must go to every village where there may be a demand for remission. The investigation of this and various other matters connected with curnum requires frequent movement, for were I to remain always in one place a great part of the extra revenue would soon disappear and the District and Village servants would in times venture to make deductions even from the current revenue. The loss that would be incurred in this way would greatly exceed any saving that would arise from reducing the tent allowance, for any man who has had experience in revenue knows that no confidence can be placed in the accounts of the natives and that the realisation of it must chiefly depend on the vigilance of the Collector, but unless he is furnished with the means of moving at all times he can give but little information of what is doing in the different districts under him. If it is meant to enable him to transact the business with any degree of convenience no diminution of the present establishment can well be made—he must have a cutchery tent as sleeping and luggage tent wherever he goes, and though his writers and Muttasidies find accommodation in some villages, yet as they cannot find it in all nor ever in any one without forcing themselves into the houses of the inhabitants, the two sepoy tents now allowed them ought to be continued." (b).

(3) "I also gave my opinion on Courts of Justice. That it would be better to have justice as at present in the hands of the revenue servants, for that the establishments of courts could do no good and they would necessarily from their ignorance of the language be often misled by their interpreters. It is among themselves that nations must in most cases look for justice but when the manners of a whole people are so depraved as to render them liable on every occasion to be influenced by motives of fear or corruption it is in vain to expect that substantial justice can be generally administered. I am afraid that there is no means by which this object can ever be attained until the principles of morality shall become more respected among the natives than they are at present. In these Panchayets they usually decide impartially where they have no interest [here illegible] as members of a Court of Justice." (c).

II. *Bellary writings.*—Only two of them have been selected here.

The first is a revenue letter to the Board of Revenue dated 25th August 1805, and its companion is another of 20th June 1806. These two appeared earlier than Arbuthnot's selection on page 94, of the 1886 edition of his '*Selections*,' and are worthy of study.

The following are extracts from the former letter and throw light upon Munro's ideas of settlement of Bellary as Collector of that district:—

"2. When a country falls under the dominion of a foreign power, it is usually found to be the wisest plan to leave it in possession of its own laws and customs, and to endeavour rather to ameliorate, than to abolish, them and substitute others

(b) *Ibid.* Report on the subject of Tent Allowance. To Lieutenant-Colonel Read, Collector of the Baramhals. Pinagur [Pennagaram], 14th July, 1798.

(c) *Ibid.* Report on the time and method of Jamabundy and method of keeping and reconciling accounts. To Lieutenant-Colonel Read, Darampoory, 13th November, 1798, para. 8.

in their room ; and the more ancient and civilized the subject nation is, the more requisite is it to pursue this course, for the institutions of such a people are not only in themselves perhaps better adapted than any that they could receive from strangers to their own circumstances and habits, but they have also over their minds the strong influence which is derived from respect for antiquity. If the system of landed property and tenures which has always prevailed in India be examined, it will appear that the sovereign has at all times been regarded as the sole landlord, that the country has been divided into an immense number of small farms held immediately of him by their respective cultivators, that this great mass of tenants were all tenants-at-will, that there was no description of landholders similar to the owners of estates whom it is now proposed to raise up, that the numerous class of Inamdar who might be mistaken for landlords were, in fact, only landed pensioners, whose lands were resumable at pleasure and that private property in land was altogether unknown.

3. The people, usually termed Zemindars, were not more landowners than the Inamdar. The appellation of Zemindars, among the natives of India, comprehends every person who holds lands for discharging the duties of a Civil Officer, down to the Village Tallari, and also all Poligars, the Desmuks, Despondis, Dessays, Deskoolkurnis, etc., are all revenue servants holding Inam lands or villages and receiving a percentage on the collections as an allowance for performing the duties of their employment. They differed in no respect from the common Potaills and Kurnums of villages but in holding a more extensive jurisdiction, which was however, in one respect, inferior to theirs by being only during pleasure, while theirs was hereditary. The class of Zamindars denominated Rajahs and Polligars were, with a few exceptions, originally military officers holding lands for the maintenances of a body of troops. When the weakness of Government enabled them to throw off their allegiance and seize their respective districts, they became petty sovereigns and as such proprietors of the soil, but still they were not properly landlords. They did not buy or sell land, if they disposed of it by gift it was an Inam and resumable at will. If they were subdued by a neighbouring state, they did not, like the feudal vassals in Europe, retain possession of their lands after losing their power, but all their right in them of every kind passed to the new sovereign as is evident from the form and tenor of all grants of land. These grants everywhere, except on the Malabar Coast, bestowed on the grantee not only the share of the produce payable as rent to the State, but the complete ownership of the soil, including, according to the mode of expression, all its products both above and below ground. Lands and whole villages, and sometimes districts, were everywhere given away in this manner, which never could have taken place had private landed property existed, for in that case the sunnud would as on the Malabar Coast, have given the right to the Government rent only, and left the land itself in the hands of its private owner. All grants, of whatever kind, were resumable at pleasure, and as all persons holding them were every moment liable to be deprived of their estates, it is evident that there was no real landlord but the prince. His rents were collected immediately from the cultivators by the Potal or head cultivator of each village, by whom they were paid to the Tahsildar or Collectors of districts. If therefore the lease and permanent settlements, now in agitation, are made with the cultivators, it is only following the system which has always prevailed, and which now prevails in this country, but improving it by limiting the demand of Government instead of letting it to continue arbitrary and

uncertain. If the country is divided into large estates a new system is introduced and a description of landholders created, hitherto unknown to the inhabitants.

4. The complete abolition of an ancient revenue system can never be advisable until it has been fully proved that that which is intended to supplant it is better. In order to decide whether the new is preferable to the old, it should be first ascertained whether it is practicable, whether it will be liked by the inhabitants, and whether it will ultimately augment the wealth of the country and the resources of Government. A judgment cannot easily be formed upon these points without previously considering the actual state of the country and of the people by whom it is cultivated. The Ceded Districts are in general but thinly in proportion to their extent. They have few large towns and the merchants who reside in them, being seldom rich, carry on but little trade. All the ryots are armed and as they live collected together in fortified villages the cultivation of the country is very unequal. The lands close to the villages are well cultivated, those at a little distance hardly yield any rent, and all beyond them lie waste. There are no Zamindars excepting the Potails and other village servants. The great Poligars were all reduced or expelled under the Mysore Sovereigns, and the petty chiefs who still remain have no authority over the inhabitants of their Poliams, as all land is held immediately of Government. The whole of the land rent amounting to Star Pagodas 14,16,457-0-0 is collected by the village servants from 1,64,397 cultivators, holding Puttas from the Company for their several farms. The average rent of these petty farmers is somewhat above 8½ Pagodas, but many of them pay no more than two or three rupees while some pay two or three thousand. The more substantial cultivators usually remain fixed in their native village, though they do not always occupy the same farm. The poorer sort go from village to village, wherever they can get land on the most favourable terms, but they still regard themselves in every situation as the tenants of Government and acknowledge no other landlord. The poorer are occasionally the tenants of richer cultivators for a share of the crop, but scarcely ever for a money rent. All classes of cultivators are frequently the tenants of Inamdar and more commonly for a rent in money than in kind, but every ryot would rather be the tenant of Government than of a private person where the terms are equal. When one cultivator becomes the tenant of another for a share of the produce, it is because he is unable to pay a money rent. When rich cultivators become the tenants of Inamdar, it is because they always get land from them at a lower rate than from Government, for the Inamdar being usually a Brahmin or Fakir who has not the means of cultivating his land, he must either let it lie waste or give it to a ryot for below its fair rent. If the proper standard, the ryot throws up the farm, and occupies Sirkar land in lieu of it, for he will never continue a private, in preference to a public tenant, unless he is influenced by the prospect of a greater gain. He has a certain degree of pride in being a Government tenant, he thinks that it adds to his consequence, and he feels that it renders him more independent. There can therefore be no doubt that the inhabitants themselves, under all changes of system, would wish for the preservation of that right which they have ever enjoyed of holding their lands directly of Government.

5. If the system of great estates is introduced it might last for a time, but it is not easy to conceive how it could be permanent. The civil institutions and the manners of the people of India are hostile to the continuance of extensive landed property in the hands of a few families. Early marriage and religious obligations

under which every person male and female is of entering into that state, the equal division of land among all the sons, and the general practice of adoption where there is none, all continue to break up and distribute it among a multitude of owners; and while the division is perpetually accelerated by these causes, its accumulating is prevented by the distinctions of caste, for the husbandman never abandons his own occupation or sells his land in order to engage in manufactures or trade, and hence estates can hardly ever be augmented by purchase unless where lands are sold for arrears of rent. But this very operation of selling will more frequently diminish than enlarge estates, for purchases will oftener be made by under-tenants than by neighbouring landlords. The establishment of the system of large estates would therefore be only forcing for a time the landed property of the country from the form in which it has always been, and to which it must again, sooner or later, inevitably return, namely, small farms or estates cultivated by their owners. That this opinion is not merely speculative may be proved from what has actually happened in those provinces where the property of the soil is vested in the inhabitants. In Malabar, in Canara and in parts of Nuggar and Sondah the estates of landowners are on an average nearly as small as the farms of the ryots of Government tenants in the Ceded Districts. If there were not permanent causes which opposed the existence of great estates, we ought to find such estates very common on the Malabar coast, but as this is not the case, and as that country is certainly extensive enough to serve as an example, it may fairly be assumed that great estates, though they may be created, cannot be of long duration in any province of India. Government, though it cannot prevent the sub-division of estates into small portions among individuals, may determine that no estates shall pay rent immediately to it, where the annual amount is less than 500 Pagodas. But this regulation gives no additional security to revenue and only attempts to fix upon the landlord the trouble and expense of collection, which must ultimately, at some period or other, fall again upon Government. When an estate of a thousand Pagodas becomes so much divided by sale or inheritance that the principal or original owner has only a part of it, equal to one hundred Pagodas, left and that his profit is equal to only thirty Pagodas, this sum will certainly not enable him to make good all the deficiencies which may occur upon the whole estates. If it is said that the whole lands of the estate are security for the revenue, it may be answered that they are so now under the ordinary ryotwari system and that the head farmer or Potaik of the village is in reality now what the owner will then be, for he has usually Inam lands yielding thirty Pagodas or more and his income being therefore as great as that of the land-owner, he is as well qualified to be responsible for the public revenue.

6. If then the country must at last become the inheritance of a multitude of petty land-owners, the only material question is, whether it may, with most advantage, be conducted to this state by the temporary intervention of great landlords or by continuing the cultivators as at present in their small farms constituting them landowners. It may be said in favour of great estates that the proprietors have a deeper interest than revenue officers in the improvement of their lands, that being better judges, both of the nature of the soil and to enable the better sort of the ryots to thrive and the poorer sort to avoid the distresses and failure which are so often the consequence of over-assessment, that if they are wealthy, their own interest will urge them to employ more stock in cultivation than can be expected under the present system, that if they are not wealthy, they will soon become so from the accumulation of the remission of rent and the result will be the same, that

a degree of mutual confidence will arise between the landlord and tenant, which can never take place between the ryot and the revenue servant, and that from this source the private dealings among the inhabitants will be increased and facilitated greatly to the advantage of the country, that the ryot will have a greater certainty of holding his land at a moderate rent because the proprietor will be restrained from over-assessing him by the fear of his throwing up his farm and going off to another estate, while the revenue officer is in a great measure exempted from this check for he can follow the fugitive ryot and assess him wherever he ploughs a field, that the ryot will be less likely to suffer oppression under a landlord than a Revenue Officer, because, though the law may be supposed to protect him as effectually in the one case as the other, yet he will be more influenced by his fears and his ignorance when he is the tenant of Government than when he is that of an individual to submit in silence, that the raising up of a body of rich and respectable landowners will introduce that first gradation of ranks which is so essential to the existence and prosperity of every well-ordered society and finally that the inhabitants will be relieved from the constant and vexatious interference of revenue officers in all their transactions and Government from a great part of the expense of maintaining them."(d).

The second of Bellary selections is a letter from Munro to the Governor of Madras, containing answers to questions put by Government about the feasibility of a permanent settlement in the Ceded Districts. It is not possible in a short paper like this to reproduce this letter entirely. The answer to the first question alone is quoted here to serve as a sample of the whole correspondence. There are, in all, fifteen questions and answers.

"Question.—(1) Is it practicable in your district to make a permanent settlement with each individual ?

*Answer.—*It is not practicable at present to make a permanent settlement with each individual ryot, nor can such a settlement possibly be made, until lands shall have become saleable. The ryots do not on an average pay each ten Pagodas of rent. Men who derive their whole income from such small farms can have individually but very little property, and great numbers of them fail, therefore, every year from the most trifling losses, [viz.] a fit of sickness, which prevents working for a few weeks. The loss of a cow or bullock or a bad crop are evils each of them sufficient to force an ordinary ryot to throw up a part of his farm, and a poor one to relinquish it entirely, and become a common labourer. By lowering the assessment a permanent revenue might be obtained from the ryots though the same individual would not always pay the same rent. Each ryot would occupy more or less land and pay more or less rent according as his circumstances improved or declined. But the aggregate rent of all the ryots of a village or district would always be the same or be very nearly so. It could not be kept exactly at the same level continually without frequently making a second assessment upon the ryots for occasional deficiencies, but it does not seem necessary that the revenue of a great country should be as fixed as that of a private person. It is of importance that the assessment of the land-holder should be fixed, and this is done by fixing the rent upon the land, but it is of little consequence whether the revenue of Government be 5 or even 10

(d) The Madras Records. Bellary Selections. Circulars and other Papers. Letter to William Petrie. Anantapoor, 25th August, 1805.

per cent higher or lower in one year than in another provided it suffer no permanent diminution." (e)

III. *Selections from Madras.*—These belong to the period of Munro's Commissionership for revision of the judicial system in Madras. Arbuthnot has not given us even one paper of Munro for this period, and it may therefore be of advantage to historians to include one from this series. That which is chosen for this paper is a portion of a report which is at once a summary of all the earlier papers and a lucid and comprehensive account of the new system which he had proposed in all of them.

19. There are however some points in which it may be confidently asserted that the change of system has already been attended with many advantages. It has by freeing the Criminal Judges from the Superintendence of the Police permitted them to devote more time to the investigation of crimes of a higher nature and to get through their business more readily, as is obvious from the small number of cases depending before them on the 1st of January last, compared with that of former years. It enables the greater part of petty offences to be settled on the spot by the Heads of Villages and Tahsildars so that they do not go even to the Magistrate, whereas they were formerly carried to the distant tribunals of the Zillah Judge to the greatest vexation of the inhabitants, as in some Zillahs the number of litigants and their witnesses frequently amounted in the course of the year to several thousands and it has relieved the inhabitants in general, but more particularly the heads of villages and the village servants, from the odious authority of the Tannahdars and Daroghas and their interference in their domestic disputes. The late system of Police which enabled the Tannahdars to exercise control over the village servants and Potails in fact placed the dregs of the people over the most respectable class of them and gave rise to many abuses and to very general discontent. The relief of so numerous and useful a body of men as the heads of villages and village servants from such a state of dependence on their inferiors is of itself a very important benefit to the country derived from the change.

20. The saving of expense produced by the new Regulations in the Departments to which they extend cannot be easily ascertained.....

21. No very great diminution of expense can be expected while the present number of Zillah courts remains. The pay of the native servants is so low that the disposal of a few would hardly make any perceptible difference in the general expense. The dismissal of any great number would injure the efficiency of the different departments from which they were taken and would still produce no material saving. The European is expensive part of the judicial establishment and is the only one by whose modification the amount of the charges can be considerably diminished. However much the business before the Zillah Courts may be diminished, a certain proportion of those courts will always be indispensably necessary though unquestionably not the same number as at present. If not a single original suit were to come before them, they would still be of the most essential use to the country as courts of appeal and criminal courts and still more perhaps by the salutary check which they would maintain over the District and Village Munsiffs by which they would compel them to perform properly subordinate judicial duties which can by no other agents be so conveniently discharged."

(e) Op. cit. Letter to Archibald Obins, Private Secretary to the Governor, Anantapoor, 20th June, 1806.

" 27. In every department whatever can be best done by Native servants should be entrusted to them. The business of the European officer should principally be to control and direct properly the labours of the Natives under him. In order to enable him to employ his time in the way most useful to the public service, he shou'd be exempted from the necessity of devoting any part of it to the observance of useless forms or to the furnishing of useless records. These remarks are as applicable to the Collector as to the Magistrate, and we have no hesitation in saying that the Collector ought not to be required to furnish a document so utterly useless as a Diary which must every day occupy a considerable portion of time, which no person who understands revenue affairs would ever consult for information, and which we believe has never led to the detection of abuses, even in those districts where they have been greatest.

28. It was the intention of the late Commission that the Magistrate should have authority to refer cases of petty thefts and petty offences brought before them in the first instance to the Tahsildars or other subordinate officers for investigation on the spot and that their assistance should in every part of their respective Zillahs exercise such portion of the magisterial functions as might be delegated to them as well when absent from, as when present with, the Magistrates. If it is thought that the authority intended to have been given in the cases alluded to has not been given by the existing regulations the omission ought to be supplied by a supplementary regulation.

29. Though the Native Servants Regulations do not come immediately within the province of the Commission yet as they encumber the dispatch of public business in almost every department, we take the liberty of recommending that they be rescinded. The cause and the manner of the dismissal of servants can never without great injury to the public service be made the subject of legislation, all that is necessary to be done in order to check the abuse of authority in the wanton dismissal of servants may be effected by orders from the Heads of the different Departments and their orders should not descend to servants having less than fifty rupees monthly pay.

30. One great defect in the existing regulations formerly noticed by us still remains to be remedied. We allude to the powers vested in the Sudder and Faujdary Adawluts of deciding without appeal on all doubts which may arise respecting the meaning of the regulations. As there is no regular channel of representation to Government against their opinions there can be no means of correcting them when erroneous. Such a power whether vested in two men as at present, or in a great number, seems to be inconsistent with the spirit of legislation. In this country the Government in Council is both the legislative and the executive government and the proceedings of every subordinate department should reach him and be subject to his control. This was the case when the original code of regulations was framed. The Court of Sudder Adawlut was then composed of the Governor in Council and the power of final decision was therefore then lodged in its proper place. We would recommend that this power should be again placed where it was at first and that for this purpose a regulation should be passed restraining the Sudder Adawlut from issuing any order on the interpretation of any doubtful meaning in any part of the Code until it should previously have received the sanction of Government and authorizing the Boards of Revenue and Trade to appeal to Government in all cases where they think that an interpretation has been given injurious to the interests of their respective departments.

31. It will be observed from what has been said that the few slight modifications of the Regulations of 1816 which we propose do not in any way affect their principle but are calculated solely to render their operation more extensive. We do not think that it would be safe to make any material changes founded upon opinions formed without sufficient experience of their effects and differing from each other. The system has been little more than twelve months in operation and all that is yet known is that more business has been done and less remains on hand than under the old one. It can never acquire solidity or operate with due effect while it is continually shaken by the agitation of changes. It ought not to be unhinged by any premature alteration, but to be pursued steadily for a period of six or seven years as the only means of shewing fairly how far it is calculated to answer the end for which it was established." (f)

IV. *The Presidency selection*, is one of his many unpublished minutes as Governor. It may be well to recall that Munro wrote at this time of his life on almost all subjects of Indian administration and that any attempt at selection will only convey a partial impression of his high talents and outlook. The following is a minute on the Civil Service salaries and pensions :—

" 1. The Honourable Court of Directors in their answer under date the 24th March 1824 to the Memorial of the Civil Servants state that they are anxious that the practice of setting apart a portion of their incomes to accumulate as a fund in view to eventual retirement should be universally pursued and that it is their desire that the salaries which they allow should be sufficient to combine a liberal maintenance in India with an annual saving in view to retirement and in the letter under date the 1st of April 1824 from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Honourable Court we are informed that they are desirous of receiving any suggestion which may tend to improve the efficiency of the service as well as to improve the condition of their servants. It is therefore our duty to point out according to our best judgment how the efficiency of the service and the improvement of the condition of the Civil servants may be combined.

2. In order to secure efficiency there must be adequate salaries ; the one can hardly be expected without the other. But it is also true that there may be very great inefficiency with very adequate salaries. Efficiency depends not only upon salary but upon a due gradation of the higher and lower ranks or offices. If the number of the subordinate officers be too small the junior servants will be raised to the higher before they have had time to learn their duties. If the number be too great promotion will be too slow. The Civil servants will waste the best days of their lives in inferior situations, they will become dispirited and hopeless, they will lose all zeal and become indifferent about the discharge of their duties, and the whole character of the service will sink.

3. To render the establishment efficient the number of different classes or gradations of offices should not be more than is necessary and the number of persons employed in each office should not be more than the duty requires. The junior servants should be employed only in such duties as are necessary to be known in order to qualify them for filling with advantages the higher offices in the several departments of the service. It is a misapplication of their time to employ them in the inferior duties of mere routine and labour which teach nothing and which can be much better performed by natives.

(f) Fort St. George Judicial Consultations. Cons. No. 1. 8th December, 1818.

4. The present Civil Establishment of this Presidency appears to be so well constituted both with regard to the relative numbers of the higher and lower officers and to the chance of promotion as to require little or no amendment. It is evident that the chance of promotion in every service must depend upon the proportion of the higher to the lower classes of ranks and the number of persons in each. If we examine the Civil Establishment by this rule it will be found that the prospect of promotion is as good as it ought to be, for that of the whole number of persons of which it is composed amounting with those at home on leave to 207 about 1/3 have annual salaries or allowance of from Rs. 25,000, to 49,000, about 1/6 from Rs. 12,000 to 25,000, about 1/3 from Rs. 3,000 to 12,000 and that about 1/6 are at home on furlough. The whole amount of civil allowances exclusive of those of the Governor for 1823/4 was Rs. 31,63,751, which if divided by 207, the number of civil servants at home and in this country would give Rs. 15,000 per annum for each and if divided by 167, the number in this country including servants out of employ and students at the College, it would give in round numbers Rs. 18,500 per annum for each.

5. Promotion has undoubtedly been slow during the last fifteen years but it has proceeded from causes which will not operate in future. It was occasioned by the sudden increase of offices on the formation of the Judicial Establishment and the subsequent reduction of many of offices in the Judicial and Commercial Departments. What is now wanted is neither quicker promotion than is likely to result from the present scale of establishment nor higher salaries, for promotion cannot be quicker consistently with the efficient training of the junior servants and the salaries are now with some trifling exceptions sufficiently high. But what is wanted is a greater facility in accumulating savings from salaries and in remitting these savings to England.

6. The most effectual way of encouraging saving would be to render the saving productive by receiving it into the Treasury and allowing interest upon it. Nothing is so much against the practice of saving as the present state of things in which there is no ready or safe way of investing savings to advantage. Even if money could with safety be lent to private agents it would be advisable that the Company should always take the savings of its Civil servants as a loan and be the channel of its remittance to England. Considering their situation and the duties they have to discharge it would be better that they should if possible have no money dealings either with Natives or Europeans. Wherever they employ an agent and have funds in his hands they must feel an interest in his success and it will be supposed to influence their conduct whether it does or not. Besides when the Civil servants are obliged to watch the fluctuations of the money market in order to ascertain how they may place their savings at interest or remit them home with safety it must necessarily occupy a portion of their time and prevent their devoting it so entirely as they might otherwise have done to the public services.

7. The intention expressed by the Honourable Court of ensuring to every civil servant during his residence in India a competent salary would be furthered by allowing every Civil servant after twelve years' residence in India to draw a monthly salary of one thousand rupees whenever the salary of his office might fall short of that sum.

8. The efficiency of the service might be greatly promoted were the Honourable Court to grant retiring pensions to Civil servants after a period of actual residence

in India. Such a grant might induce some men to retire who are from age or infirmity unequal to the proper discharge of their duties and might prevent others now at home who are equally unfit from returning to this country in quest of office and would thus enable Government to avail itself of the services of more efficient men. The benefits of retirement should not be such as to induce active and intelligent servants to retire too early. When men retain their health there is no time when they are more useful as public servants than from the twentieth to thirtieth year or even to a later period of their residence in India. I am therefore of opinion that no Civil servants should be entitled to retire on a pension until he should have completed twenty five years' actual residence in India.

9. A Civil servant who has served in Council by appointment from home four years and completed a service in India of twenty five years ought to receive a pension double the ordinary rate for the purpose of facilitating his retirement because the respectability and independence of members of Council would be maintained by their being enabled to retire from the service or retiring from Councils.

10. It is not likely that the pension list would be very considerable. But as this can hardly be ascertained without trial as it is possible that the hope of pension might keep some men in the country after their services are no longer useful and after they have the means of retiring and as the number of the Civil servants on the establishment who have resided twenty five years in the country though now only 13 might possibly increase so as to cause a heavier expense than was contemplated, this inconvenience might in some measure be remedied by limiting the number of pensions and by assessing the whole or a considerable part of the charge on the salaries of the Civil servants.

11. I regard the operations of pensions however as very inferior to that of the accumulation of savings in promoting the efficiency of the services and it appears to me therefore to be highly desirable that while Government discouraged by every proper means habits of idle expense it should suggest the measures which they seem best calculated to ensure the combination of a liberal maintenance in India with an annual saving in view to retirement. I have already stated my opinion generally on this subject.....

12. Even if the Honourable Court should be pleased to grant all that is now proposed it will hardly place the Civil servants on so good a footing with regard to securing the means of eventual retirement as appears to have been contemplated when Lord Cornwallis recommended the adoption of the plan of liberal salaries, for it may be safely affirmed that from the reduction of the rate of interest and the difficulty of investing money even at that reduced rate together with the unfavourable exchange on England there is a difference against the present time compared with that period of at least one third on that proportion of every salary which is intended for accumulation and remittance home.

13. To this loss may be added another occasioned by the changes which have taken place in the currency by which the Civil servants instead of a Gold Pagoda intrinsically worth seven shillings and five pence receive these silver rupees and a half worth intrinsically about six shillings and nine pence making a difference of nearly eight and a half per cent from which however a deduction must be made on account of salaries having been occasionally paid in silver and of the relative value of gold and silver not having been so high as fifteen to one."

Prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah.

(By A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A.)

The history of India during the dissolution of the Mughal Empire makes painful reading. It is a sordid tale of mistrust, treachery, avarice, of rapine and murder ruling supreme. And yet there are bright spots to sustain interest and relieve the oppressive gloom. Now and again a noble soul springs up from the embers of the dying monarchy, sore at the ruinous present and burning to retrieve the glories of the past. The man appeared but the moment was lacking. After a heroic but fruitless struggle to save the Empire the gallant spirit broke and passed into oblivion.

One such instance is furnished in the latter half of the 18th century in the person of Prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah, the eldest son of Emperor Shah Alam. Little is recorded of his early life, but it may safely be presumed that the heir-apparent to the throne of Delhi received education and training of a high order. From recorded facts he appears to be a man of many accomplishments. According to Francklin,¹ he was born about the year 1740. Twenty-one years later, in 1761, he made his first appearance in public life. The third battle of Panipat had just been fought. The victorious Abdali marched into Delhi. The throne lay vacant, for the Emperor, Alamgir II, had been cruelly murdered at the instance of his Vazir. The treacherous minister in turn took to flight for fear of retribution. The rightful heir to the throne, Shah Alam, was a fugitive in Bihar. Abdali could have proclaimed himself Emperor of India, but his army was homesick and insisted on his return to the native land. The Abdali King therefore invited Shah Alam to return to Delhi and occupy his ancestral throne. Meantime he appointed Prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah regent of the Empire. Najibud Daulah, the Afghan noble, was made Amirul Umara and placed in charge of the administration.² It appears that the young Prince suddenly called upon to fill such an important office and in such exceptional times gave a good account of himself, maintaining harmonious relations with the minister and making himself popular with the nobles of the Court. For a period of ten years he acted in this capacity and won the confidence and esteem of all. When his father returned to Delhi, the Prince retired into private life. He received an independent *jagir* for his maintenance and spent a quiet family life enjoying homely duties and domestic pleasures.

On his return to Delhi, Shah Alam selected a very able minister in the person of Mirza Najaf Khan who served his master faithfully for a number of years. When Najaf Khan died in 1782 several rival nobles strove to succeed to this high office. Afrasiab Khan, a protege of the late minister, was taken into royal favour. But before he had established himself he was overthrown by Mirza Muhammad Shafi who now became the Chief Minister. He, however, made himself unpopular by his imperious ways and haughty manners. He tried to reduce the power of the nobility by resuming their fiefs and created a feeling of general resentment against himself.

At this stage Prince Jawan Bakht seems to have felt that it was his duty to intervene. He could not sit idle and watch the royal authority dwindle away owing to internecine feuds among the nobles. He quietly placed himself at the head of the discontented chiefs and when their plans had been fully matured he disclosed every

¹ Francklin : *History of Shah Aulum.*

² *Maasirul Umara under Najibud Daulah and Imadul Mulk.*

thing to the Emperor. His Majesty was advised to remove Mirza Shafi, the conspirators assuring him that they would render the latter incapable of offering any resistance. The weak and imbecile Emperor yielded. Mirza Shafi, however, got scent of the plot and before the blow was delivered he took to flight.

His Majesty with great pleasure now invested the Prince with the sole direction of Imperial affairs. It looked as if there would be an end to frequent revolutions in the palace. But the old rivals, Shafi and Afrasiab, made up their differences in order to defeat the new order of things. They made common cause against the Prince and sent an ultimatum to the Emperor demanding the immediate reinstatement of Shafi as the Chief Minister. The Prince spiritedly advised the King to be firm, but the combination had frightened him out of his wits. He decided to temporise with the unruly chiefs. They killed or overpowered the adherents of the Prince. Shafi was restored to his former office and Afrasiab became his coadjutor. The Prince was relegated to the background and was meanly treated by Afrasiab. Not long after, Shafi was murdered with the connivance of Afrasiab who now became all-powerful at the Imperial Court. He possessed none of the essential qualities of statesmanship. He was selfish and utterly lacked vision. The helpless Emperor chafed under his tutelage. The Prince bitterly resented the shabby treatment he and the other members of the Royal family received at his hands. But the Minister was relentless, inexorable. They cast their eyes in different directions for a friend to deliver them from their uncomfortable position.

At about this time the news arrived at the capital that Warren Hastings was at Lucknow on a visit to the Vazir of the Empire, Nawab Asafud-Daulah. Hitherto the Emperor had received nothing but courteous and honourable treatment from the English. He now earnestly hoped that Hastings would free him from the thraldom of Afrasiab. But circumstanced as he was he could not even think of communicating his wishes to the Governor-General. The Prince knew what was passing in the mind of his august parent. Out of filial piety he made up his mind to risk even his life, if necessary, in order to be of service to him.

He resolved upon a bold and dangerous plan. Twenty-five years earlier his father had found himself in a somewhat similar situation. Emperor Alamgir II, the Prince's grandfather, was held in galling captivity by the wicked Vazir, Ghaziuddin. Shah Alam, then a youth filled with high ambition, was kept under constant surveillance. He made good his escape by cutting the guard to pieces and galloping through a breach in the wall of the palace. The sentries coming to know of this opened a regular fusillade over him from the top of the castle, but he jumped into the Jumna and his faithful steed bore him across the stream to safety.

The Prince decided to follow the example of his father. On the 14th April 1784, on a stormy night, he left his chamber in the palace in disguise. He climbed up to the top of the building and passed from one roof to another till he came to where his friends were waiting for him on the river bank. Then he let himself down by means of a rope and thus eluding the sentries got safely across the river.¹

He proceeded straight to Lucknow. He had hopes of enlisting the sympathy and active co-operation of both Hastings and the Vazir. With their aid he resolved to free the King from his unscrupulous ministers and re-establish his diminishing

¹ H. G. Keene : *The Fall of the Moghul Empire.*

authority on a sound footing. As soon as his flight was discovered the Emperor, or rather Afrasiab Khan, in his name, wrote to the English Governor-General and the Nawab to send back the Prince without delay.¹ Hastings naturally hesitated to receive him, but reflecting on the complications that might arise if he went away elsewhere, decided to accord him a fitting reception.² When the Prince drew near, Hastings and the Nawab went out three miles from the city to receive him. Hastings was deeply impressed by the noble figure and the accomplished manners of this young scion of the House of Timur. He was moved to compassion when he saw royalty in rags. He resolved to champion the cause of the Prince. In his report to the gentlemen of the Council at Calcutta he stated that "they would have felt the same warmth of benevolence or let it be, if it is such, the same weakness of compassion, that I did when I first met the Prince on the plain of Mohaun, without state, without attendance, with scarce a tent for his covering or a change of raiment, but that which the recent effect of hospitality had furnished him, and with the expression of a mind evidently struggling between the pride of inherent dignity and the conscious sense of present indigence and dependence. Had his subsequent conduct developed a character unworthy of his high birth, had he appeared vain, haughty, mean, insolent or debased by the vices which almost invariably grow in the minds of men born to great pretensions, unpractised in the difficulties of common life, and not only bred, but by the necessity of political caution familiarised to the habits of sloth and dissipation, I would have contented myself with bestowing on him the mere compliment of external respect, and consulting only the propriety of my own conduct, not yielded to the impulse of a more generous sentiment. I saw him almost daily in the course of near six months and I found him gentle, lively, possessed of a high sense of honour, of a sound judgment, an uncommonly quiet penetration, and a well-cultivated understanding, with a spirit of resignation and an equality of temper almost exceeding any within the reach of my own knowledge or recollection."³

From Mohan the Prince was escorted to Lucknow where a royal reception was accorded to him. Hastings prevailed upon the Nawab to allow him a subsidy of 4 lakhs of rupees per annum for his maintenance. The Prince informed his hosts that the object of his visit was to devise means to serve the King and sued them for military assistance. The Nawab depended on the English for the protection of his own frontiers, and the Governor-General by himself, was not competent to enter into any engagement of this character. He therefore consulted his colleagues in the Council who unequivocally refused to be drawn into the politics of Delhi.

Hastings therefore resolved to use his influence to facilitate the return of the Prince to Delhi. The Prince was agreeable to this arrangement but he wanted an attendance sufficient for his protection, as well as a *jagir* equal to the one given to him during the administration of the late minister, Najaf Khan. He further wished to be employed on service against the Sikhs who were making serious inroads into the royal domains. These were fair and honourable terms and Hastings opened negotiations with His Majesty.

As a result of his endeavours Afrasiab Khan agreed to allow the Prince to return to Delhi attended by four companies of sepoys from the British forces and make

¹ I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 1784, No. 89.

² G. W. Forrest: *Selections from the State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India*, Vol. III, p. 1096.

³ Op. cit., p. 1128.

over the districts of Rohtak and Singhana to him as his *jagir*. The Prince, in return, was to countenance and support the minister and to act with his advice.¹ An engagement to this effect was formally executed and the Prince set out towards Farrukhabad on his way to Delhi. At this juncture, Hastings was suddenly called away to Calcutta on account of the death of Mr. Wheler who had been left by him in charge of the Presidency.

Shortly after this Afrasiab was assassinated. This event and the confusion that followed it kindled the fire of ambition in the heart of the Prince. He saw the chance of a life time. The King wished him to return and assume charge of affairs. Major Browne, the British Agent at Delhi, recommended this step. The Prince therefore solicited the Governor-General to help him with an armed force as without this he could not influence the direction of events. But the English were not inclined to enter into any such arrangement. He was referred to Mahadaji Sindhia who had promised Hastings that he would help the Prince to return to the capital.

But events were moving too fast for leisurely negotiations. Immediately on the death of Afrasiab, Sindhia stepped into his shoes and assumed command of the army. He saw the King and was received into royal favour. Sindhia now invited the Prince to come over to the capital and assured him that there was no necessity of armed force to attend on him.² The Prince was not prepared to trust him. Major Palmer, the Resident at Lucknow, and on his advice the Nawab Vazir, had discouraged him because it was agreed that Sindhia must not be allowed to have the Emperor as well as the heir-apparent in his power. The question was accordingly dropped and the Prince stayed on at Lucknow.

Shortly after, an estrangement grew up between the Prince and the Nawab Vazir. It appears that the Nawab began to consider his august guest an unnecessary burden on his exchequer and his manners, accordingly, grew cold towards him. The Prince who was already smarting under a consciousness of obligation and was mortified at being the object of benevolence rather than the dispenser of it took this very much to heart. In 1786 when the Nawab was on a visit to Fyzabad he suddenly, and without notice, left Lucknow, went to Benares and took up his abode at the garden-house of Madho Das.³ The Nawab was annoyed and it was with difficulty that he was prevailed upon to continue his allowance to the Prince and make it payable at Benares.

In August 1787 the Prince received information that Sindhia was away from the capital, that his power had received a serious set-back at the hands of the Rajput Princes of Jaipur and Jodhpur, and that taking advantage of the situation, Ghulam Qadir, the Rohilla Chieftain, was threatening Delhi. He resolved to make a last effort to do his duty to his sovereign and parent by purging the Royal Court of the time-servers. He, accordingly, addressed His Majesty and offered to place his services at his disposal. The old Emperor eagerly besought his son to come to his aid.⁴ He also wrote to the Vazir and the British Governor-General to help him in his hour of need. The Emperor was sick at the frequency of revolutions in the Court. There was never a man whom he had taken into his confidence who had not

¹ I. R. D., English Translation of Persian Letters Received, 1784, Vol. 22, No. 73.

² *Ibid.*, No. 94 (3).

³ I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 27 September 1786, No. 131 ; 21 September 1787, No. 477.

⁴ I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 16 September 1787, No. 465.

betrayed him. This time it was his favourite Controller of Household, Manzur Ali, who had invited the Rohilla, Ghulam Qadir, to frighten him and the royal family by bombarding the citadel. Circumstances forced the King to summon him to the Presence and confer on him a *khilat* and appoint him to the offices which were supposed to be held by Sindhia. In his frantic appeal for help addressed to the Prince, the Vazir and the Governor-General, he sets forth how he was compelled to temporise with the Rohilla and how that insolent chief had openly declared that if his demands were not complied with he would "set up another master for offering his salams."¹

The young Prince's blood boiled when he heard accounts of the insults that were offered to his family. Once again he appealed to the English and the Vazir to take up the Emperor's cause and help him with an armed force. Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, happened to be at Lucknow at this moment. The Prince hastened to see him there. At his request his lordship removed the misunderstanding that had arisen between him and the Vazir. With regard to military aid, however, he was firm on the ground that the British Government could not afford him any, as such a step would militate against their considered policy of non-intervention. The Prince was, of course, free to take the risk. If he prospered in his hazardous plans it would give pleasure and satisfaction to his friends; if he failed, he could always count upon the English to afford him a safe and honourable asylum in their territories.² The Prince then asked for an advance payment of five months' allowance which the Nawab Vazir had fixed for him. His lordship promised to use his influence with the Nawab Vazir in the matter. But only a lakh of rupees was made available for him.³

Equipped with such slender resources he set out for Delhi where he seems to have arrived without opposition. The Emperor was overjoyed to see him and at once entrusted him with the sole direction of the royal affairs. The new administration opened with great promises and enthusiasm. The Prince stood for a bold and vigorous policy, the principal object being to rally friends and disperse enemies. The people looked forward to an era of peace and prosperity as the government was now in the hands of the natural masters of the country. This caused consternation among interested persons. The Emperor's ears were poisoned against the Prince. It was given out that he was not sincere in his professions of loyalty and that he was biding his time till he could capture the Treasury and the leadership of the army. In other words, it was impressed on him that the Prince was planning to depose His Majesty and proclaim himself Emperor.

Shah Alam, whom continuous misery and affliction had thoroughly unnerved, gave a willing ear to these base insinuations. He grew jealous and eyed the dutiful activities of his son with a suspicion unworthy of himself. When the Prince proposed a campaign for the consolidation of the royal authority in the Doab, he refused to lend the army. Other indications were not wanting to show that the intrigues of a clique headed by Manzur Ali had succeeded against his filial services and devotion. Dispirited and downhearted he applied for a *jagir* to retire upon in case of eventualities. The province of Agra was assigned to him and he left the Royal Court with his family, never to return there again.

¹ I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 16 September 1787, No. 465.

² I. R. D., English Translation of Persian Letters Written, 1787, Vol. 34, No. 108.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 119.

At Agra he made an unsuccessful attempt to take possession of the province. He was handicapped by lack of funds and men. In a letter to Lord Cornwallis he again appealed for assistance in the following words :—" At this time, assistance in money and troops from you, my brother, is necessary in the same manner as formerly in 'that' quarter a battalion was stationed as a guard at my tent. Therefore assist me now with some money and four battalions, so that they may serve as a personal guard to me.. If you do this, by God's help the whole country will come into our possession."¹ He proceeded to explain that formerly the British Government could not help him because of their engagement with Sindhia who was then taking an active part in the politics of Delhi. No such impediments now obstructed them, as Sindhia had retreated to Gwalior after his defeat at the hands of Ismail Beg, a rising Mughal Chief. The field was now clear and a little exertion would accomplish much.² The aid so earnestly sought for was, however, not forthcoming. The Prince was thrown back on his own resources. Ismail Beg, whom he next approached for help refused to listen to him, while the perfidious Ghulam Qadir laid a plot to take him prisoner.

Forsaken and forlorn, the Prince decided to adjure politics for good. He had been actuated by the best of motives but he was not destined to succeed. In utter despair he broke up his camp, and with a heavy heart proceeded with his family and a number of loyal adherents to the English frontiers where he could always find a safe asylum.

Arriving at Farrukhabad in the month of March, he notified the facts of his case both to the Governor-General and the Nawab Vazir. Asafud-Daulah was reluctant to harbour him in his own territory and even wrote to Lord Cornwallis to refuse him an asylum in the English dominions. He wrote : " In the first place I have it not in my power to pay the money for his expenses..... In the next place I have several objections to His Royal Highness's residence at Lucknow..... His residence in the Company's territories indeed is not advisable. The Company's territories and mine are the same....."³

But Lord Cornwallis had pledged his word to him and it was impossible for him to retract. The question of his allowance was a matter for negotiation. The Governor-General proposed Rajmahal for the residence of the Prince to which the latter agreed. In the meantime the Prince went out one night unattended to the Vazir's house and tried to remove the misunderstanding which existed between the two of them. The Vazir was mollified.⁴

Lord Cornwallis impressed upon the Vazir the propriety of continuing the Prince's allowances. Nawab Asafud-Daulah agreed to provide three lakhs a year. The Prince complained that this amount was not commensurate with his dignity and position and that formerly he could manage with four lakhs a year as he was then living alone. And now that relying on the hospitality of the Vazir and the Company he had brought his wife and children with him it would not be possible for him to make the ends meet on such a paltry allowance. He was prevailed upon to reduce his establishment and curtail his expenses and was requested to proceed immediately to Rajmahal or Sasaram where living was cheaper than in any of the big towns.

¹ I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 23 January 1788, No. 76.

² *Ibid.*

³ I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 13 March 1788, No. 174.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 25 April 1788, No. 239.

It was impressed on the Prince that the Company had numerous financial worries of their own to attend to and that it was not possible for them to do anything more for him. The Prince perfectly realised the helplessness of the situation. He only begged for time to settle his affairs and asked for an advance to pay off those of his attendants whom he could no longer retain in service.

About this time the fatigue and discomfort of daily marches through the heat and dust of the summer months began to tell upon the health of his wife and children. The strain was too much for young and gently nurtured princes and princesses who had never set foot beyond the precincts of the Imperial Palace. They fell ill one after another and the Prince was obliged to prolong his stay at Benares. Lest his action might be misconstrued he hastened to assure his hosts that he had not changed his mind. He explained his position to Lord Cornwallis thus : " You have also written on the subject of our march to Rajmahal or Sasaram. Brother mine, notwithstanding the Begam's bad health and my own indisposition and sickness among 200 people in the female apartments I had decided to set out for Sasaram. . . . I have travelled a great deal and can bear climatic and other inconveniences of travelling, unlike the young princes and the ladies of the household who have never set foot out of the Fort of Delhi. May God make the climate agree with them and may they recover soon ! For these reasons I am unable to proceed forward. When the rains are over I shall set out. . . . " ¹

He passed an extremely unhappy time at Benares. Despair and disappointment had broken his spirit. Constant worry and anxiety over the future of his dear and near ones had shattered his health. Fate which had been unkind to him throughout his life now sent mercy to him in the form of Death. On 31st May 1788 as he was returning from a visit to Chunar he was seized with a sudden pain in the chest. Next morning he expired, a mortified and broken-hearted man.

The circumstances of his death are recorded by his wife, Qutlaq Sultan Begam, in her letter to Lord Cornwallis, received on the 12th June 1788. She writes : " His Royal Highness on the 24th *Shaban* (31st May) about three o'clock in the morning left for Chunargarh and after spending a short time there returned to Benares the same evening, an hour before sunset. The whole night he was uneasy and restless, feeling a burning sensation in the body. When morning dawned he said he had a great pain in the chest. At the time for prayers he wrote two letters with his own hand, one addressed to Mr. Duncan² and the other to Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan³, and having affixed his seal to them he handed them to me saying that he would write to his brother, the Governor-General, and the Nawab Vazir regarding me. I asked him why he was talking in such a desponding manner and why he had written these letters. He replied that the pain in his chest was very severe, and that these letters would be of help to me. Then he stepped out of his chamber but returned shortly after when he fainted and fell unconscious on the ground, perspiring profusely. He sent for the physician who felt his pulse. He then asked for a cooling draught. Suddenly his eyes rolled and he became unconscious again. People thought it was an apoplectic seizure. When Mr. Duncan and Ali Ibrahim learnt of this they called on him with Hakim Abdullah and some European doctors. They opened a vein and applied remedies. As life was already extinct their ministrations

¹ I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 31 May 1788, No. 286.

² The Resident at Benares.

³ Chief Judge at Benares.

were of no avail. This misfortune has crushed me under a mountain of affliction and has left me bewildered and miserable in the extreme. I am writing this to you because the deceased Prince considered the Company's territories as his home and refuge and came with his family in order to settle here under your protection. I trust that I may be allowed to reside here under your protection by the side of the tomb of the departed worthy. I hope that from your friendly regard for the Prince you will observe the same rules of protection towards me as towards the late Prince when he was alive.”¹

The letters alluded to in the foregoing message are pathetic in the extreme. While they reveal the natural anxiety of a dying person for the welfare of his survivor they also indicate the light in which he regarded the people who controlled the affairs of the Royal Palace at Delhi.

The letter to Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan runs thus : “ My brother, dearer than life, Ali Ibrahim Khan ! At this moment my condition is extremely bad owing to severe pain. If I live, well and good. If God forbid that, I die and the King sends for my wife and the ladies of my family you must never allow them to go. You must consider them as your mother and sister and keep them where they are. Otherwise I shall catch hold of your skirt and seek redress against you on the Day of Judgment.”²

The letter to Mr. Duncan is to the same effect, but couched in much more positive terms as follows : “ My brother, dear as life, Mr. Duncan ! At this moment my condition is extremely bad owing to a severe pain in the chest. If I survive, well and good. If I die, I shall only be submitting to the Divine Will. I enjoin on you in the name of all that you hold sacred that you must ever support my family. Continue to my wife the allowance you are paying me now. Should the King summon her, I beg of you, by all that is sacred in your religion, that you must never never send her or my sons to him. I am laying down my life in your country ; you must preserve the honour of my household for the love of Virgin Mary. For the sake of the Holy Virgin do not send my wife under any circumstances whatever to Shahjahanabad. I am writing this at a time when my senses are giving way in order to impress on your mind the memory of my last request.”³ *Innalillâh wainnâ ilâihe rájeûn.*⁴

¹ I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 12 June 1788, No. 342.

² I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 16 July 1788, No. 407.

³ *Ibid.*, 8 June 1788, No. 333.

⁴ Al Quran, Chapter II, “ We are God's, and unto Him shall we surely return ”.

Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held in the Punjab Record Office on Tuesday, the 14th December 1937.

PRESENT :

(Nos. 7—44 were co-opted members.)

1. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., D.Litt., *ex-Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta.* (In the Chair.)
2. Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Hony. Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S., Madras.
3. Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
4. Mr. L. P. Dutt, Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal.
5. Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D., Curator, Madras Record Office, Egmore, Madras.
6. Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.
7. Lt.-Col. H. Bullock, Dy. Judge Advocate-General, Rawalpindi.
8. Mr. S. Khurshed Ali, Nazim, Daftari-Dewani and Mal, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan).
9. Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Sahityacharya, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur.
10. Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
11. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras.
12. Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Principal, Government Intermediate College, Hoshiarpur, Punjab.
13. Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., Yeotmal, Berar.
14. Dr. K. R. Qanungo, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History, Dacca University.
15. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, University of Lucknow.
16. Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, D. Litt. (Paris), Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan).

17. Mr. Gurty Venket Rao, Andhra University.
18. Mr. D. R. Bhandari, Head of the Department of History, University of Delhi.
19. Mr. Sheikh Abdur Rashid, Muslim University, Aligarh.
20. Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., Assistant Professor, Maharaja's College, Mysore.
21. Mr. Hirde Narain, M.A., B.T., Professor of History, Morris College, Nagpur.
22. Mr. J. C. Taluqdar, M.A., Professor of History, St. John's College, Agra.
23. Dr. Mohammad Nazim, M.A., Ph.D., Offg. Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, Patna.
24. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr.
25. Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh, D.Litt., LL.B., Sitamau, C. I.
26. Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Professor of History, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
27. Dr. K. K. Dutta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Lecturer in History, Patna College, Patna.
28. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., University of Lucknow.
29. Dr. S. K. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D., University of Lucknow.
30. Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., Mayurbhanj State, Orissa.
31. Mr. J. D. Penny, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.
32. Rai Bahadur Manmohan, M.A., Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.
33. Mr. J. F. Bruce, M.A., Professor of History, University of the Punjab.
34. Mr. J. D. Ward, M.A., Senior Professor of History, Government College, Lahore.
35. Khan Bahadur Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daulatana, M.L.A., Lahore.
36. Lala Ram Chand Manchanda, Advocate, High Court, Lahore.
37. Sardar Sahib Sardar Ujjal Singh, M.L.A., Lahore.
38. Dr. K. N. Sitaram, M.A., Ph.D., Curator, Central Museum, Lahore.

39. Mr. R. R. Sethi, Lecturer in History, University of the Punjab.
40. Mr. Shri Ram Sharma, M.A., Professor of History, D. A. V. College, Lahore.
41. Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, M.A., Assistant to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.
42. Mr. U. N. Ball, M.A., Senior Professor of History, D. A. V. College, and Lecturer, University of the Punjab.
43. Mr. Badri Narayan, M.A., Professor of History, Gwalior.
44. Sardar B. N. Khosla, M.A. (Pb.), B.A. (Cantab.), Bar -at-Law, Principal, Mohindra College, Patiala.
45. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A. (*Secretary*).

I.—Review of the action taken on the resolutions of the Commission passed at their thirteenth session held at Patna in December 1930.

A conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, etc., on the resolutions passed at the thirteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was placed on the table and approved. As the result of further discussion on some of those subjects, Resolutions Nos. 1, 6 and 10 were passed by the Commission at this meeting.

II.—Review of the action taken by the Government of Bombay in the matter of publication of :—

- (i) Selections from the Marathi Historical Records in the Peshwas' Daftari in Poona, and
- (ii) the series of English Records relating to Maratha history entitled "Poona Residency Correspondence".

The following note was circulated among the members :—

" As a result of the various resolutions passed by the Commission at earlier sessions the cream of the Maratha records of the Peshwas' Daftari has been published by the Government of Bombay in 45 volumes under the editorship of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai. The selections from the Poona Residency records are also being published under the joint editorship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai. Four volumes of this series have already been published. Sample selections from the Persian records have also been issued in a thin volume".

Referring to Resolution No. 2 of the thirteenth session, the Chairman said that in the course of these seven years all the records at Poona had been explored and actually printed. There were 45 volumes covering the Marathi records relating to the affairs of Northern India, Poona and various provinces of India with which the Marathas had any connection. The history of Nizam Asaf Jah I could not be written without full use of these materials. There were four or five volumes dealing with the affairs of the Karnatak and the Nizam. In this connection he added that notice had been received of a motion for a vote of thanks to the Bombay Government for having completed the exploration and publication of these Marathi historical records, which would be taken up in due course.

Referring to Resolution No. 3 of the thirteenth session, the Chairman remarked that all the Poona Marathi records which were of an historical character had been sorted and separated from records dealing with land-rights, village accounts, etc., and had been kept in a separate place for purposes of study by scholars. Rules regarding the study of these records had been printed at the end of the 46th volume of the series, *viz.*, "Handbook to the Poona Historical Office Records" compiled by Rao Bahadur Sardesai.

Referring to Resolution No. 4 of the thirteenth session, the Chairman remarked that the original papers among the records in the Poona Alienation Office which were not of a political character and which it was desired should be placed in the Reading Room for study were in the Modi script, *i.e.*, in the handwriting used in the accounts of the Marwari Mahajans. They had been transcribed in Devnagri and from these Devnagri transcripts the 45 volumes of *Selections* had been printed. The suggestion made was that the original letters should be placed in the Reading Room for correcting the mistakes that might have occurred in the printed volumes, but the Bombay Government have replied that "the records in the Alienation Office were not classified into subjects such as political, judicial, etc., and that there was no separate collection of papers dealing only with economies and not likely to disturb the existing land rights or political relations. There was no suitable reading room in the Alienation Office, and it was not possible to do more than what was being done".

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, while referring to the exclusion of the subject of political relations, enquired of the Chairman if times had not considerably changed and whether, when there was an expert examination of these very 'political relations' under consideration, it would not be better to interpret that phrase in a more generous spirit. The Chairman replied that that was the most important question to be discussed at a later stage on that day, and that he was then merely explaining and reporting as to what had been actually done.

Mr. Bruce, while referring to Resolution 7 of the thirteenth session, suggested that perhaps it was desirable to devote a little less time to general

historical papers. The Chairman replied that it had been decided that one day be devoted to the exploration of local records where the Government maintained a Record Office of any importance. He further said that that would be done in Lahore the next day.

Dr. B. S. Baliga pointed out that there was very little discussion at the meeting in regard to the preservation of records. He mentioned that he had attended one or two meetings of the Record Associations in England and found that the subjects discussed were, for instance, (1) how cataloguing should be undertaken, (2) how indexing should be done, and (3) what measures should be taken for the preservation of records not only in Government offices but also in the possession of private individuals. The speaker thought that a discussion of this nature would be very useful to all the members who had come from far and near. He desired that a note of his suggestion should be kept for future reference, as uniformity of practice in all the public record offices in India was a very desirable end. The Chairman thought that discussion on that point could be fruitful only if a précis of the action taken by the best archivists of Europe had been circulated beforehand as the basis of discussion, and it could well come up at the next session. He asked the Secretary to make a note of this.

On Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji's enquiry the Chairman mentioned that the cost incurred on the exploration and publication of the Peshwas' Daftars was about Rs. 10,000 annually for four years (1930 to 1933). The Chairman said that when the work was nearing completion, he received a note from the Finance Member that no provision could be made for it in the next year's budget and that notice be issued to various officers that their services would be dispensed with from the 1st of March next. That was, the Chairman remarked, just before Christmas, when along with others he toured in the Maharashtra country and collected Rs. 10,000 from people interested in historical records and public-spirited noblemen, and the work was brought to completion in that year. Dr. Mookerji suggested that the amounts might be mentioned in the resolution so that other Governments might know what the Bombay Government had done in the matter. The Chairman agreed to do so, and further explained that the volumes containing Marathi texts were called 'Selections' but were actually exhaustive, as all the documents that could be found on a particular topic had been printed; each letter contained a date in English and an English summary so that a man who knew Marathi could easily read the details in the books and if he did not know Marathi he could get a particular letter translated.

The following resolution was then moved by Dr. Mookerji and seconded by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali :—

Resolution 1.—“The Commission beg to thank the Government of Bombay and their editor, Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai for

publishing the Marathi historical papers of the Peshwas' Daftar in 45 volumes and commencing the Poona Residency correspondence series, and place on record their wholehearted appreciation of the very able manner in which the honorary editors of the latter series, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur Sardesai, are accomplishing the arduous work that they had undertaken at such personal sacrifice."

III.—Publication of the historial papers relating to Mahadji Sindhia by the Gwalior Durbar.

The Chairman laid on the table a volume of historical papers relating to Mahadji Sindhia of Gwalior which was being published for the first time. The Chairman described how these papers were stored by Nana Farnawis, the real head of the Poona Government, in his home at Manavli, south of Poona, and how these papers were recovered a hundred years after his death. The Chairman explained how by a piece of detective work he brought to light the few copies of the five volumes in which these documents had been privately printed by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis for the late Maharajah Sindhia. He added that the Gwalior Durbar had agreed to reprint these five volumes at a moderate price in a collected and corrected form so as to be accessible to scholars. Dr. Mookerji suggested that an appreciative reference to the labours of the Durbar be made, so that they might continue such valuable services to Indian history.

Dr. Mookerji moved the following resolution :—

Resolution 2.—The Commission record their appreciation of the work of the Gwalior Durbar in publishing a cheap edition of Mahadji Sindhia's letters and hope that they will continue such useful work.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Khursheed Ali of Hyderabad (Deccan) and was carried.

IV.—Calendaring of Persian Correspondence in the Imperial Record Department.

The Chairman moved the following resolution :—

" That the Commission beg to impress upon the Government of India the necessity, in the interests of historical study, of carrying the calendaring of Persian correspondence in the Imperial Record Office from 1786 to 1800."

The Chairman said that five volumes of the English Calendar of the Persian correspondence in the possession of the Central Government had been published. The series starts with a few papers dated a little before Plassey,

but mostly consists of documents from Plassey down to 1780. To cover the remaining years of the administration of Warren Hastings, the calendar is being carried into a sixth volume, the manuscript of which had been sent to the press. It was proposed that the Calendar of Persian correspondence should be carried on from 1783 to 1800, because thereafter, owing to the various discussions which took place at Home as the result of political changes in India, students possess a good deal of correspondence in English and do not feel the lack of Persian correspondence. The Chairman took the sense of the House as to whether they desired to pass a resolution asking the Government to renew the work of publication of the Calendar of Persian correspondence. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali explained that the work was progressing and that their programme was to bring the calendar up to 1800 and that, therefore, no resolution was necessary. The matter was, in view of this assurance, dropped.

V.—Arrangement for publication by the Imperial Record Department of selections from the manuscript English records relating to particular periods or topics of the East India Company's administration.

This item was included in the agenda at the suggestion of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and the following note on this subject was circulated among the members :—

“ The Imperial Record Department has not for more than a decade past published any selections from the records in its custody. Sir G. W. Forrest as Director of Records, Bombay, edited the following selections from the records of the Government of India :—

- (i) *Selections from the letters, despatches and other State papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-85, Vols. I—III. Edited by G. W. Forrest. Calcutta, 1890.*
- (ii) *Selections from the letters, despatches and other State papers preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India, 1857-58. 4 Vols. Edited by G. W. Forrest. Calcutta, 1893. 1902 and 1912.*
- (iii) *Clive. (Rt. Hon. Robert, 1st Baron). A printed collection containing copies of papers from Bengal, Madras and the India Office relating to Clive (1744—67), with others illustrating the rise of the British power in India (1671—1785) in 3 Volumes. Compiled by G. W. Forrest.*

It appears from the records of the Home Department that, at the instance and with the permission of Lord Dufferin, Sir George Forrest undertook the edition of item (i) and at the request of the late Sir George Chesney, Military Member of H. E. the Viceroy's Council, of item (ii).

An honorarium of Rs. 2,000 was granted to Sir George on completion of the work mentioned in item (i). He was placed on special duty in England for six months in 1896-97 in order to complete the work referred to in item (ii). He was granted an honorarium of Rs. 2,000 for the first volume of item (ii) and a gratuity of Rs. 10,000 in two instalments of Rs. 5,000 each for the other three volumes.

Selections from records have, however, been published from time to time by the various departments of the Government of India and the catalogues of these selections are placed on the table".

The Chairman said that the records relating to the year 1756-57, which were published in three volumes by the Secretary of State for India, under the editorship of S. C. Hill, were almost entirely from the Imperial and Bengal records. Again, Sir George Forrest's three volumes on Warren Hastings were indispensable to historical students and were well known to all scholars and every university teacher of history.

He suggested that since the financial stringency had been eased, publication of selections from manuscript English records relating to particular periods or topics of the East India Company's administration should be resumed with the assistance of research scholars and teachers at various universities, with some subvention from the Government of India, if necessary. A discussion arose in which Professor N. Shastri stated that he had no objection to the selections being printed if that was to be in addition to the systematic scheme of calendaring as the latter was the proper way of presenting records to students. The Chairman admitted that calendaring was more important than publication of selections, but in order to have the former work done correctly it must be done by a competent scholar trained in history who could judge the needs of historical students of different types, and stated that calendaring would be costly because it could only be done by the paid officers of the Government of India. He, therefore, suggested that other volumes on the lines of Forrest's three volumes should be issued and that if the Government of India found it difficult to provide necessary funds their printing could be done by some university or with the aid of some fund outside the control of Government.

Dr. Baliga remarked that the Government of Madras had decided upon calendaring certain series of records and publishing other documents in full, but at the same time omitting all duplicates from the special series that were going to be printed. He thought that if this programme was followed by the Central Government, it would be satisfactory. Indexes to these records should be issued side by side with the records. The indexes should be taken up for printing. Professor N. Shastri urged that he would invite the attention of the Government of India to the great necessity for a complete calendaring

of these records and that the calendaring be resumed with the assistance of universities and honorary workers.

This suggestion led to the discussion as to how far Government would allow non-official historians access to the records for editing selections and preparing calendars. The Chairman remarked that it was the experience in Europe that when the calendaring was done by competent scholars, most historical inquirers could satisfy all their needs from these calendars and only in 2 or 3 per cent. of the cases was a reference to the original document found necessary.

The Secretary said that it was not possible for his office to resume calendaring work as most of the senior assistants are now employed in the classification and separation of the Foreign and Political Department records. After the completion of this work the same staff will have to take up the indexing of the classified and separated records. If it is proposed to resume publication of selections from records or calendars, it would be necessary for Government to sanction a special staff of qualified men on suitable pay, even if assistance were forthcoming from university professors or other honorary workers.

Professor Shastri said that it would satisfy him if a well-worded resolution pressing for a calendar formed the first part, and if in addition to that a recommendation for publication from time to time of selections of particular classes or groups of records were made. He moved the following resolution, which was unanimously accepted :—

Resolution 3 (i).—The Commission recommend to the Government of India the extreme desirability of publishing systematic calendars of the Imperial records and selections from the manuscript English records from time to time relating to particular periods or topics of the East India Company's administration and that definite provision be made for these items of work being started.

Resolution 3 (ii).—The Commission suggest that assistance should be taken of research students and teachers at our universities and other scholars in undertaking these publications with some subvention from the Government of India.

VI.—Restoration of the grant of Rs. 3,000 for meeting the expenses of the Historical Exhibition.

The following note was circulated among the members :—

“ In 1931, owing to the financial stringency prevailing at the time, the entire grant for the Indian Historical Records Commission amounting to Rs. 5,500 (Rs. 2,500 for travelling allowance of the members and Rs. 3,000 for meeting the expenses of the Historical Exhibition) was surrendered and the Commission's meetings were held in abeyance. In response to the continued request

of the Secretary of the Commission, the Government of India restored the grant of Rs. 2,500 for meeting the travelling expenses of the ordinary members. They, however, stated that they were not prepared to meet the expenses of the Exhibition. The Secretary submitted to the Government of India a fresh proposal for making a provision of Rs. 3,000 for the Historical Exhibition in the budget grant of the Imperial Record Department for the year 1937-38. An extract from their reply, dated the 3rd August 1337, is given below :—

‘ The Government of India have decided to postpone consideration of the question of the revival of the Historical Exhibition until the receipt of the report of the next meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission to be held in December 1937.’

The Secretary later on having represented to them the desirability of holding the Historical Exhibition this year also, as in the past, was authorized to organize it provided he could meet the expenses from the budget grant of his own Department without asking for more funds from the Government of India for this purpose.’’

It was resolved :—

Resolution 4.—That the Commission strongly recommend to the Government of India that the grant of Rs. 3,000 to meet the expenses of the Historical Exhibition and the contingent charges of the Commission be restored in the future.

VII.—Reduction of the prices of monographs issued by the Punjab Historical Record Office.

The following extract from a letter, dated the 3rd November 1937, from Profesor Sri Ram Sharma of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, was circulated among the members :—

“ I have the honour to suggest that the prices of the monographs published by the Punjab Government Record Office be substantially reduced so as to make it possible for the research scholars at least to buy them. At present they seem to be priced at figures which are intended to secure that not more than half a dozen copies of these books are actually sold beyond the complimentary copies sent to various gentlemen and debited to certain Government Departments. In the past the initial price has at times been substantially lowered. Grey and Garretts’ ‘ European Adventures in the Punjab ’ was reduced in price to about one-half its original cost. I particularly suggest that the price of the recent volume on News from Ranjit Singh’s Court by Dr. Chopra be reduced to one-half its price if not one-third.”

A list of the saleable publications issued by the Punjab Record Office was placed on the table.

Referring to this subject, the Chairman pointed out that when 45 volumes of Selections from the Marathi records of the Peshwas were completed by the Bombay Government, they found out that the generality of our historical students could not purchase the lot at the high price fixed for the volumes and, therefore, it was decided to reduce the price from Rs. 130 to Rs. 80, that is to say, there was a reduction of more than one-third of the price if the whole set was taken together. The Chairman thought that the Punjab Government should also do the same thing and reduce the price of the monographs issued by the Punjab Historical Record Office. Mr. Sharma suggested that instead of determining the prices of these volumes by reference to the cost of their publication, it should be done on some more rational basis. The Chairman explained that the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal had fixed the rate of twelve annas for a unit of a certain number of pages and something extra for each plate. The same method of calculation was in vogue in the Bombay Government's Poona Residency Records series. He thought that the Punjab Government had evidently done the same thing. Dr. Sharma replied that that was not the case; the Punjab Government had included overhead charges as well in the cost. He suggested that the price of certain of the volumes could well be reduced by one-half. Mr. J. D. Penny enquired if there was not the danger of the Punjab Government stopping publication of these records if this point was pressed by the Commission. He said that the press had to be run by the Punjab Government on commercial lines. The Chairman remarked that learned works were never published on commercial principles. Some learned society or liberal government had to bear the loss. He said that they were trying to reduce the loss by increasing the number of purchasers in consequence of reduction of the prices. Dr. G. L. Chopra pointed out that the prices had already been reduced.

The following resolution was passed :—

Resolution 5.—“ That the Commission request the Punjab Government to reduce the prices of their historical publications to a figure within the means of our student community as has been done in the case of the Bombay Government's Marathi series of Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar and the volumes of the Poona Residency English Correspondence.”

VIII.—Printing and publication of Col. Tod's manuscripts on the Pindaris.

[Please see Resolution 18 of the thirteenth session.]

The Chairman recommended that the manuscripts on the Pindaris should be printed as an appendix to the proceedings of the Commission for the reason

that the matter had been discussed at previous meetings of the Commission and it would occupy only twenty-five or thirty pages of the Proceedings Volume.

IX.—Printing of the lists of inscriptions on Christian tombs received from the Government of India, Indian States and other sources.

The following note was circulated among the members :—

“ (Please see I. H. R. C. Proceedings, Volume 13, page 185, item No. XVI.)

‘ As suggested by the Indian Historical Records Commission the ordinary and the corresponding members of the Commission as well as co-opted members of the thirteenth session and the Registrars of the Universities and the learned societies in India and Burma were addressed for honorary assistance in carrying out the corrections of the lists of inscriptions on Christian tombs in various provinces. A circular letter was also issued through the Department of Education, Health and Lands to all Local Governments and Administrations and another to the Indian States through the Foreign and Political Department asking for suggestions for additions or alterations to the list of publications on inscriptions prepared in the Imperial Record Department. As a result of this, lists of inscriptions on Christian tombs have been received from the Governments of Bengal and Madras and from the Indian States of Hyderabad, Kapurthala, Jhalawar, Karauli, Bilaspur, Mandi, Cochin and the Western India States Agency. The Bahawalpur State has supplied a sketch of a Christian cemetery at Bahawalpur on the Dehra Nawab road at mile 2½ showing inscriptions on the tombs. Mr. Parmananda Acharya, the State Archaeologist of Mayurbhanj State, has pointed out that the list of inscriptions in the cemeteries of Puri and Balasore, published in the “ List of old inscriptions in Christian burial grounds in the province of Bihar and Orissa ”, is full of mistakes. He has sent a set of correct readings of these two cemeteries. Captain (now Lt.-Col.) H. Bullock has suggested a few corrections to the list of publications on inscriptions. The Honorary Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, has supplied a copy of a letter from Dr. Sir J. J. Modi regarding the inscriptions on certain tombs in India. The Honorary Secretary, U. P. Historical Society, has supplied a list of alterations which have taken place in the Christian tombs and monuments in the U. P. as recorded in the list of inscriptions compiled by Sir Edward Blunt. Mr. R. R. Langham Carter, Deputy Commissioner, Akyab, has supplied a copy of the corrections which he has been able to make for the List of European burial grounds in Burma and has also suggested a correction to the list of publications on inscriptions.

The lists received from various sources are placed on the table. The Madras lists furnish copies of some additions to the lists of inscriptions on

Christian tombs and monuments in certain districts of that province. It is presumed that the lists of inscriptions in the remaining districts have not been revised. The Annual Report of the Madras Record Office for 1936-37 indicates that Mr. J. J. Cotton's List of tombs for Madras has been revised and has been sent to the press. The Bengal list has been compiled from the materials furnished by the Public Works Department of that Government. It has been compared with Dr. Wilson's list and remarks have been made against the items already printed. The Bengal Government have submitted this list for the consideration of the Commission as to the way in which it should be edited, printed and published. The States appear to have prepared the lists for the first time. These have not been printed and the question of the best way of utilizing them is to be considered.

The States of Jaisalmer, Tonk, Bharatpur, Baroda and the Administration of Baluchistan have no suggestions to offer.

The Kotah State maintains records of the inscriptions on the tombs of Europeans and Eurasians and the same is looked after by the State. The Nabha State has stated that no inscriptions exist on any of the very few Christian tombs (mostly depressions now) in that State. There are no tombs of historical interest in that State. The Jind State has stated that there are no Christian tombs in the State territory as bearing inscriptions but some tombs exist in the graveyard of Jind Junction Railway Station which bear inscriptions and are situated within the jurisdiction of the North-Western Railway authorities. The Bikaner State has stated that no tombs possessing historical or archaeological importance exist in that State. The Gwalior Government has stated that it maintains a printed book "The return of European graves in Indian States and Central India". This has been prepared in accordance with the Government of India's circular letter No. 226-1, dated the 18th January 1895.

The list of the publications about inscriptions was revised in accordance with the suggestions about additions and corrections received from various sources and a copy was placed on the table."

The Chairman pointed out that this subject had been pressed at previous meetings and several Governments had issued lists of inscriptions, but the corrections and additions had been rapidly growing. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali suggested that recommendation be made to the Bengal Government to print their revised list of inscriptions. Col. Bullock said that about forty years ago the list of monumental inscriptions in Bengal was published and was edited by Dr. Wilson. He did not compile it himself, in the sense that the compilation work was done by the Public Works Department subordinates. There were many errors and omissions. If that list was compared with another list of monumental inscriptions "The Bengal Obituary", it

would be seen that Dr. Wilson cut out too much. A great deal of material pertaining to it is on record in "Bengal : Past and Present" (the journal of the Calcutta Historical Society), from which the list of Dr. Wilson could be revised and re-published. He suggested that that list be published and he hoped that there would be a fair sale as well. He thought that if the Commission recommended to the Bengal Government its re-publication, it would certainly perpetuate a valuable work. The Chairman pointed out that the material for Bengal was nearly complete, whereas material for several of the Indian States was far from being complete. Every day additions were being made in the issues of "Bengal : Past and Present". He, therefore, suggested that the recommendation be restricted to Bengal, and the question of dealing with other places should be left to some future meeting of the Commission.

Resolution 6.—It was resolved that the Government of Bengal be requested to print the list of inscriptions on Christian tombs and monuments which has been compiled from the materials furnished to them by the Public Works Department of that Government.

X.—Printing of a revised and consolidated list of commemorative tablets on notable buildings in India.

[Please see Resolution 4 (i) of the twelfth session.]

Revised lists of commemorative tablets on notable houses and buildings were received from Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar, N.-W. F. Province, Orissa, Sind, Coorg, Delhi, Mysore, Central India and Rajputana.

The Secretary suggested that this list, which consisted of 26 type-written pages only, should be printed in the proceedings of the Commission. After some discussion the Commission decided to do so and to print the list as a brochure as well.

XI.—Consideration of the revised Rules regulating the access of the public to the records of the Government of India and the Crown Representative in the custody of the Imperial Record Department and of the proposal for the grant of access to the records up to 1858 to research scholars.

A copy of a letter from Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, dated the 9th November 1937, and extracts from the applications of Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar of the Allahabad University, Dr. D. N. Banerji of the Dacca University and Khwaja Abdul Haye of the Islamia School, Quetta, dated the 6th, 11th and the 16th November 1937, respectively, and a copy of the revised rules were placed before the members. These research scholars

raised serious objection to the following provisions of the revised rules. The imposition of an inspection fee of Rs. 5 (rule 3) ; examination fee of Rs. 2 per 10 typed foolscap pages of transcript with a minimum of Rs. 15 (rule 8) ; the cost at the rate of Rs. 7-8-0 per diem (rule 9) ; and the regulation that all copies, extracts and notes must be submitted in typescript, the cost of typing being one anna for every fifty words (rule 17).

With regard to the proposal for the grant of access to records up to 1858 to research scholars, the following extract from a letter No. 706, dated the 19th November 1937, from Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri as well as a note on the same as given below was placed before the members.

Extract from Mr. Sastri's letter :—

There is one other general matter which I would like to raise for the consideration of the Commission if I may. The present rules do not give access to records of a later date than 1800 ; I think it is time that the limit was revised and brought up to the year 1858 or thereabout. I do not know what the Commission would think about it, but should like to see the matter discussed. Can this be done ?

Secretary's note on Mr. Sastri's proposal :—

"Mr. Sastri has, perhaps, in view the rules in force in the Madras Record Office. In response to the enquiry made by the Government of India in connection with the throwing open of the records of the Government subject to certain limitations, the Madras Government agreed to grant free access to all their records up to 1856 except the Revenue and Irrigation series to which they were prepared to grant access up to 1800. The question has since then been dropped. The records of the Government of India down to the year 1859 are regarded as historical and are open to students for purposes of *bona fide* research in conformity with the Rules governing the access of the public to the records of the Government of India and the Crown Representative. The records of the Government of India from 1860 onwards are regarded as current and are not open for historical research. It is only on very rare and special occasions that persons have either been granted copies of specific papers from among those records or permitted to examine them in connection with researches on definite subjects. In 1929 Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerji, Minto Professor of Economies at the Calcutta University, was with the special permission of the Financial Secretary supplied with copies of certain documents belonging to the Finance Department with a view to completing

two of his books dealing with Indian Taxation and Indian Finance ; in 1934 Mr. Dev Raj Seth, a research scholar of the Punjab University working for the degree of D. Litt., was with the concurrence of the Department of Education, Health and Lands allowed to consult the records of that Department up to the year 1917 in connection with the preparation of a thesis on the History of Western Education in India. The examination of the post-mutiny papers (*i.e.*, from 1860 onwards) for research work is not ordinarily allowed."

The Chairman pointed out that formerly the rules were simpler, but recently they have been so drawn up as to make it practically impossible for Indian students to make use of the records in India, while it was much easier and cheaper to get copies of records from the India Office typed than to get them from Mr. Abdul Ali's office. There were two reasons for that difference :—

- (a) The British Government are more liberal there with regard to home and foreign office records. They have set up a limit. All records down to the year 1853 are exhibited to the public without reserve. As time passes on, records of still later dates are thrown open to the public.
- (b) The objection in India to doing likewise was due to the fact that Indian States are far more touchy than the Continental Powers with whom England fought in the past. He pointed out that in official quarters it was feared that access to these records might tend to unsettle many settled facts ; for example, boundary disputes to be revived, claims of land would be made by one jagirdar against another jagirdar, etc., etc. He said this was what the Government wanted to avoid. At one of our meetings it had been suggested by Mr. H. L. O. Garrett that an act of limitation should be passed so that no claim could be revived if it were earlier than the year 1850 or 1857. With such a safeguard all the records up to 1857 might be thrown open to the public. But unfortunately that law was not going to be passed.

The Chairman said that really two questions were now before them : namely (1) that the records up to a certain year might be thrown open to the public, and (2) the problem of cost in taking transcripts at the Imperial Record Office. He suggested that all records up to the year 1800 should be thrown open to the public. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji suggested that this year should be fixed at 1805 to cover Wellesley's rule. Professor N. Shastri said that in the Madras Record Office the public was allowed access to all records up to 1800. Dr. Balkrishna said that the rules as prevalent in the India Office, London, might be followed. All the records were open to the public except for one hundred years from the present year.

The Chairman asked the members to turn to rule 3 of the Rules regulating the access of the public to the records of the Government of India in the custody of the Imperial Record Department, which runs as follows :--

" Persons desiring to examine the records of the Government of India shall apply in writing to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, New Delhi, stating their office, profession, titles or other qualifications, and the object for which they wish to examine them together with an inspection fee of Rs. 5."

Rule 5.--This rule as well as the rule regarding the imposition of an examination fee of Rs. 2 per 10 typed foolscap pages up to a minimum of Rs. 15 were objected to, and it was unanimously recommended that no charges whatsoever be levied on these two heads. The Chairman, in this connection, pointed out that this matter was entirely in the hands of the Political Department. Professor N. Shastri said that he on behalf of the members of the Commission objected to the fee for typing, etc., as set forth in rules 8 and 17 on page 6 of the Rules. Mr. Sharma enquired the reason why such an early date was fixed. The Chairman replied that the procedure was that before one could ask for a record to be shown to him, he must obtain permission. He said that if the first recommendation of theirs was accepted, then any volume up to 1800 would be shown to them without delay. Mr. Sharma suggested that when it was agreed that certain " papers should be open for inspection " notes taken thereon need not be censored by any one. When a student studies a document after the year 1800, then alone would this provision come in, otherwise he should not be asked to submit the notes to anyone in the Record Office or Political Department. He said that only secret documents or political papers should be required to be censored by the department and not others. He thought that there should be a condition laid down that excepting secret papers all other papers be left open to the public.

Dr. Aiyangar enquired the reason why there should be such a time limitation. 1800 was rather too backward. He said that European archives were thrown open up to 1875. The records were confidential in certain stages and when those stages were over they passed to simple history and the question of confidential matter or limitation then did not arise. Dr. Mookerji said that it should be recommended that no restriction should apply to records up to 1800, while Dr. Aiyangar suggested that the date be pushed up. The Secretary stated that the question of throwing open the records up to 1800 to the public was considered by the Government of India a few years ago on a reference from the India Office, but as some of the provincial governments were against the proposal the matter was dropped. The Chairman remarked that the line of approach that was likely to bring them success would be to proceed cautiously starting with the limit of the year 1800.

Mr. Sharma said that with regard to records of a later date, the cost as referred to in rule 8 be abolished. He saw no reason why manuscripts written

neatly should be typed for censoring purposes. Dr. Balkrishna enquired if the Imperial Record Office had got any fixed rates for typing. The Chairman replied that the rate, which was very high, was for typing *plus* comparison about six annas per folio page. Dr. Balkrishna said that the India Office did not charge anything for checking copies and there was no reason why they should pay for copies from Imperial Records in India. There was another point that the India Office had allowed several scholars to take typists on their own responsibility. He, for instance, said that he had employed a typist of his own, and the department did not object to it. They rather helped him. The cost meant only £2-0-0 per week to him. If he had gone to the Government of India Record Office, he would have had to pay six annas per folio page. What he wanted was that there should be no charge for checking and typing. He wanted that the scholars be left free to make their own arrangements for getting copies of records. One member pointed out that even well-to-do professors could not afford to come to Delhi from distant places. Travelling such long distances and finding money for such journeys from the universities was a difficult affair.

The Chairman said that their objection was to rules 3, 8 and 17, and they wanted that the Imperial Record Office rules be framed on the lines obtaining in the India Office, London.

Rule 6.—Rev. Father Heras while referring to rule 6 said that there should be no time limit during which the permission to inspect the records shall remain valid. It was mentioned that scholars would be helped and at the same time Government would lose nothing if rule 6 were worded as follows :—

“*Rule 6.—The permission to inspect the records will lapse if not utilised within six months from the date on which it is granted. All applications made under this rule shall be disposed of by the Keeper of the Records unless he thinks it necessary to refer any particular case to the department concerned.”*

Dr. Baliga said that so far as the Madras records were concerned, permission is always given to consult these records. The Chairman enquired if it was not a provincial matter for the Local Government to decide. He thought that this was strictly speaking a provincial question. Dr. Baliga said that so far as the records relating to Indian States were concerned, they were under the custody of the Madras Government though they were the property of the Crown Representative. Dr. Baliga stated that the rules governing these records in Madras were probably framed by the Government of India but did not impose any restriction up to the year 1857. He thought that the same thing might well be done in respect of the Imperial Records in Delhi. The Chairman undertook to place these views before the Government of India in a covering letter.

A member referring to rule No. 1 said that he thought that the words “other holidays” should be omitted. The Chairman pointed out that the

difficulty was that the Imperial Record Office dealt not only with historical records which were dead politics but with what were called current records. Under the circumstances the Imperial Record Office was not merely a historical body, but one of the branches of the active and actual Government of India, and that, therefore, it must move along with other Government Departments. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali stated for the information of the members that he was always prepared to accommodate people who would come to him during the holidays. The Chairman said that this was purely a personal favour. It was resolved :—

Resolution 7.—That the Commission place on record their strong disapproval of the revised rules regulating the access of the public to the records of the Government of India and the Crown Representative in the custody of the Imperial Record Department in so far as they relate to the imposition of extra fees and the compulsory rules for typing documents and recommend that Rules 3, 8, 9 and 17 be amended in the light of the discussion of the Commission, and that the Chairman do explain the views of the Commission to the Government of India.

Resolution 8.—That the Government of India be requested to give the public unrestricted access to the records up to the year 1800.

XII.—The Persian Records in the Punjab Record Office.

A paper* on this subject was read at the public meeting of the Commission by Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, Assistant to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab. The Chairman explained that in the Record Office of the Punjab Government there were enormous bundles of papers written in the Persian language which was the diplomatic language of those time. These were neglected, and in several cases sheets of paper had stuck together so that it was impossible for one to separate them. Other papers had been damaged by damp because they had been left lying on the floor and the damp had worked upwards. It had been suggested that these documents should first of all be flattened, studied and sorted in different grades according to their importance. The scheme proposed by Mr. Sadullah was read out to the members on the 13th December at the University Hall, and the proposal was that additional staff should be given in order to expedite the work, otherwise it would take about 25 years to accomplish the task. He suggested that the members could make a recommendation to that effect to the Punjab Government. The following resolution was passed :—

Resolution 9.—The Commission recommend to the Punjab Government to expedite the work of sorting and listing the Persian records in their possession by the provision of extra staff.

*Vide page 51 of this volume.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali pointed out that Mr. Sadullah had done very responsible and useful work.

XIII.—Issue of publications from the Mackenzie manuscripts and the Dutch records in the custody of the Madras Government.

The following extract from a letter from Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on this subject was placed before the members :—

“ In regard to the two matters, the Dutch records and the Mackenzie manuscripts, I again take note of what you say. But I should very much like that, in regard to both of these, there be some arrangement by means of which the work done on these records is published from time to time in a form fit for use by scholars interested in the subject. As far as I am able to make out, nothing has been done on the Dutch records except, of course, their having been received and safely lodged in the Record Office along with others. In regard to the Mackenzie records, however, a certain amount of work has been done under the university, a special staff working under the Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Mr. Nilakanta Sastri. From what I am able to learn, they expect to finish reading of the records in the course of the next five or six years, and that they wou'd be available for work afterwards. In suggesting that these records be preserved in India and steps be taken to make them available for use by those interested in historical research, I wanted that, as work is being done from time to time, it may be published in a form available for students of history ; my notion has been the publication of a set of volumes like those of Sir William Foster. It would perhaps be possible and useful as the records are being read and translated, arrangements are made for publishing them, as the Madras Record Office does the Diary, Despatches, etc., in English, and be made available along with them, in the case of both, more or less, similarly, of course, under the separate agencies who are entrusted with this work. I should very much like something being done in this behalf, as any work attempted on the accumulated records would be defective because of important lapses which could be filled in by the Dutch records. The case of the Mackenzie records would be quite similar, and could with a little effort be selected for publication from time to time as they are read and translated. I want the Commission to consider these suggestions with a view to publishing the records, and publish them in a form to save the risk of some of them being ultimately destroyed. As a matter of fact, I believe these records must sooner or later be destroyed, as

they are all on perishable material unless they get to be renewed from time to time. But if they should be printed and published in a form similar to that of the volumes issued by Foster, the chances of permanent destruction would be minimised."

After some discussion the following resolution was passed :—

Resolution 10.—The Commission recommend to the Government of Madras that arrangements may be made by them for the issue of publications from the Mackenzie manuscripts and the Dutch records in their custody according to the suggestion made by Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

XIV.—Some problems with regard to the scope and expansion of the Punjab Historical Records Office.

Dr. G. L. Chopra's paper* (previously circulated) on this subject was taken as read. He said that the Punjab records begin from the year 1803 and they had not got records of earlier periods. Sometimes opportunities had arisen to secure such records of the earlier period, but the question was could they go back ? At the moment they confined their activities merely to the preservation of the records which were with them, but could they legitimately go back if they could manage to secure earlier records by spending a little money ? Dr. Baliga enquired if it was possible to go back without additional expenditure.

The Chairman pointed out that records in days gone by used to be kept in the houses of responsible officers and not in a record office of the Government. The mere fact that a bundle of records had been in private possession did not vitiate their authenticity. The Chairman added that if Dr. Chopra could have easily secured any such document without additional cost or at a nominal cost, there would be no objection to it. There was no hard and fast rule about the matter but if he could have purchased the records within his budget, he should have procured them. Dr. Chopra quoted a definite instance of a gentleman who had large collections of manuscripts. That man ran into bankruptcy and sold those records for a song. The speaker could probably procure those records. He enquired whether it would not be possible for the Government to place some money at his disposal to enable him to go in for such valuable records. Mr. J. D. Penny replied that their first duty was to preserve their own records and then to go in for other records. The Chairman suggested that although no resolution was passed on this subject, a copy of the discussion should be sent to the Government of the Punjab for consideration.

XV.—Suggestions for granting greater facilities to *bona fide* students of history for conducting researches in the archives.

Three papers on this subject were submitted to the member's meeting by Dr. S. N. Sen of the Calcutta University, Rev. Father Heras of the Bombay

* *Vide* page 184 of this volume.

University and Mr. J. F. Bruce of the Punjab University. The following notes on these papers were supplied to the members :—

Secretary's note on Dr. Sen's paper.*

"Dr. Sen has suggested the following :—

- (i) Relaxation of the existing rules governing the access of students to the official records in order to give them more facility for research ;
- (ii) Employment of university professors and research students in an honorary capacity for sorting, indexing and cataloguing the records preserved in the district offices of the provinces ; and
- (iii) introduction in Record Offices of the rotograph machine for supplying copies of records to students of history at a reasonable rate.

With regard to (i) it may be said that access to the records of the Government of India is given on certain conditions and that the question of throwing open the official records to research students under certain limitations was recently considered by the Government of India in consultation with the Keeper of the Records and Provincial Governments in response to a suggestion made by the India Office. It was decided that no change should be made in the procedure already laid down for regulating *bona fide* historical researches among the official records. No modification of the existing rules moreover is necessary in order to give effect to the proposal of employing university professors and students in an honorary capacity for sorting, indexing and cataloguing official records, as they shall have to work under the direction of the officers in charge of the different record offices and will not be free to utilize any documents at their own discretion. They will have to take orders for that purpose from the officers concerned in accordance with the rules in force.

The second proposal is a matter for the Provincial Governments to consider. So far as the records of the Government of India are concerned, it may be said that they are sorted and arranged in classes according to dates and that short catalogues or hand-lists of them have been prepared by the staff besides detailed indexing to series of different records and that there is no necessity for employing any honorary outside agency for this purpose. On the suggestion of the Inter-University Board the proposal to utilize the voluntary help of the research scholars in the preparation of a detailed catalogue on the lines of S. C. Hill's *Catalogue of the Miscellaneous Records of the Home Department* was considered, but the idea was abandoned as the preparation of such a work takes a long time which the voluntary workers can ill afford to spare. Cataloguing once begun should not be allowed to be abandoned unfinished or left to linger for years together due to the other engagements of the workers. Moreover, the absence of training in handling the manuscript

*Vide page 189 of this Volume.

records and the art of reading old records and analysing them for the purpose of preparing a proper catalogue prevents the introduction of the aforesaid proposal into action. Dr. Sen who has written this paper is also an honorary adviser to the Government of Bengal on matters relating to records and it therefore seems proper that he should in the first instance make an experiment with the suggestions in the Bengal Record Office and in the District Offices of that Presidency. If the experiment proves successful it may be tried in other places.

With regard to the third proposal it may be said that the Indian Historical Records Commission at the ninth session held at Lucknow in December 1926 recommended the introduction of photostat machines in Government Record Offices for reproducing old documents. This resolution was brought to the notice of Provincial Governments by the Government of India. A photostat machine is being used with marked success in the Punjab University for obtaining *facsimiles* of documents".

Secretary's note on the paper* by Rev. Father H. Heras.

"Rev. Father Heras has suggested the following :—

- (i) That the rules regulating the access of the public to the records should be uniform in every Province and State in India.
- (ii) That *bona fide* students of history should have free access to records except in the case of those which do not belong to certain antiquity or refer to land and contracts, irrigation and such subjects as may at times be the cause of discontent, litigation, enmities and crimes, and that after once permission is granted to research students to examine the records they should be allowed to take extracts from them without further reference to the authorities.
- (iii) That there should be a separate research room in every archive.
- (iv) That the permission granted to examine the records should not be limited to any definite period and that the record rooms should be opened to scholars at 9 o'clock.

With regard to the various points raised by Father Heras it may be observed that it is admitted on all hands that access to the records is to be restricted to *bona fide* research scholars and is not to be extended to the general public. The question of throwing open the records up to a particular period as has been stated above has been considered and found impracticable. It may in this connection be also stated that the records in the India Office up to the 17th century only have been thrown open to students. But the bulk of the records in the Provincial Record Offices as well as in the Imperial Record Department belong to a much later date. In the India Office also the examination of records is permitted after the Superintendent of

**Vide* page 191 of this Volume.

Records has satisfied himself that the documents asked for are such as may properly be inspected. As there are no separate classes of records which may be called historical it is necessary for the proper authorities concerned to examine the extracts from records before they are allowed to be taken out of the Record Office.

In the Imperial Record Department the permission granted to examine the records is limited to two months. But the renewal of permission may be obtained without any difficulty.

It is indeed desirable that there should be a research room in every archive but the research is to be conducted in the presence of a member of the supervisory staff. This is necessary to ensure that the records are properly handled. From the administrative point of view it is not possible to open the record offices at an earlier hour than other offices. The rules for access to records in different record offices are generally based on those in vogue in the Imperial Record Department. A suggestion may of course be made for the removal of any special restriction imposed in the case of any particular archive."

Secretary's note on the paper* by Mr. Bruce.

"Mr. Bruce points out in his paper that of two aspects of official historical records, namely (a) their preservation and arrangement, and (b) their use, the second aspect is quite neglected in India. He has also spoken about difficulties of research owing to wide geographical separation of collections, imperfect cataloguing, etc. With regard to the various points raised by him, it may be observed that subject to the restrictions considered necessary from the administrative point of view, every facility is afforded to *bona fide* students of history for conducting researches in record offices in India. At the instance of the Indian Historical Records Commission, handbooks have been prepared by the different record offices which give an idea about the nature and extent of the contents of the records in each archive. Hand-lists of all the records are also available. To minimise labour for search of any document, a number of Press Lists and Calendars and cumulative indexes of these press lists have already been issued from the record offices. For the convenience of the scholars visiting any record office, there is a system of exchange of publications issued by the record offices among themselves. A system of corresponding members has also been started in different parts of India. Research reports submitted by them are printed in the Proceedings Volumes of the Commission. These reports will no doubt help in co-ordinating research on any particular subject in different provinces. The new finds of collections of records are also reported in these research reports. The progress made from year to year in the various record offices can be seen from the annual reports submitted by them. As it has been explained elsewhere, the employment of transient research students

in speeding up the progress of work in any record office is not considered a practical scheme as such scholars cannot be allowed to handle uncatalogued Government records for obvious reasons. This is only possible by increasing the staff of the record offices by recruiting well qualified graduates in history and training them with this definite end in view. Contrary to what Mr. Bruce has to say about the Punjab Record Office, it may be stated that they have done very good work in publishing the press lists for the records of the period from 1803 to 1868, together with a cumulative index for them. Although there is no whole-time Keeper, an assistant has lately been appointed who is classifying the huge mass of hitherto neglected Persian records under the supervision of Dr. G. L. Chopra. As regards the facilities offered by the Punjab Record Office for research, it may be stated that besides the monographs prepared in the record office they are also publishing the monographs prepared by the research students of the Punjab University which no other record office in India is doing. In view of the fact that the records of a political and confidential nature are mixed up with other records and are bound together, it seems that the Punjab Record Office in allowing the extracts from them to be freely utilized is giving the research students a latitude which is inconsistent with the practice in other record offices. Mr. Bruce has stated that a local research student has just begun to examine the career of Sir David Ochterlony. But it has been ascertained from the Keeper of the Punjab Records that the student in question had only submitted an application a few days back for taking up this work. The Punjab Record Office has also tried to fill up gaps in its existing records by securing missing documents from the various administrative branches, the Imperial Record Department and the India Office. With regard to Mr. Bruce's proposal about the creation of a Historical Manuscript Commission, it may be stated that the Indian Historical Records Commission by holding their sessions in different parts of India and by organising Historical Exhibitions are doing quite good work in making known the collections of records in private possessions. More ambitious schemes under present financial conditions do not appear to be practicable."

The Chairman called upon Professor Bruce to explain his proposal before the meeting. Professor Bruce said that perhaps his suggestions might be taken as read. A great part of the discussion which was taking place had been an elaboration of many of the points which he had already raised. But the central point was the question of the availability of records to the students, more particularly of a correlation of various collections of documents for their mutual assistance. He mentioned that there had been some discussion during the last few months with regard to this (the Punjab) Record Office. He said :—

"This office contains series of documents describing the political and other developments of this province. Since the capture of

Delhi in 1803 this Record Office has a particular character. It contains the official documents relating to the expansion of British rule in North-West India. It seemed to me, when a previous question was being discussed, that the question of expansion of record offices hardly arose. If this Record Office were to be regarded as containing a collection of documents relating to political expansion since 1803, it serves a very valuable purpose in India ; and if it is regarded purely and simply as such, no question of its expansion except natural expansion, *i.e.*, further increase of such documents, would arise. Only one other matter relates to it, *viz.*, the correlation of material contained in this Record Office relating generally to this province. I think perhaps we might, in respect of further development of this Record Office, consider the extent to which the Government might help us in correlating the official records contained in this collection with other historical materials relating to the same period and thus to make them complete. I was speaking of incompleteness. I had some experience of these records. There are many lacunae in this Record Office. Enclosures in practically all cases are missing. Many of the enclosures are very important. They have been lost for some period and some of them are historically of very great value. We have no machinery to discover where they are. They may exist in some place. One or two exist in the Bengal Record Office. I think for effective historical work the utmost degree of practical correlation possible is required and I think we should get it if we get some systematic method of co-operation between various record offices. These points have arisen within my own time. Another point is the value of series of bulletins. It is by no means possible for us to produce bulletins in this province. The question of calendaring arose and a certain amount of calendaring or method of publication approximating to calendaring was attempted and series of ten or eleven volumes were published but that publication ceased sixteen or seventeen years ago. The continuation of these series would be very valuable. It is impossible to publish bulletins from this Record Office. Not all the monographs have been of great historical value. I think the value of these is a very important desideratum, *e.g.*, their place might be taken by the bulletin. Many of these questions have already arisen."

The Chairman pointed out that the three suggestions made by Professor Bruce related to the local Record Office and there was nothing to prevent the local Record Office from consulting its Government for doing the work

exactly as the Bombay Government had been doing ; for instance, co-ordination of the Punjab Record Office with other archives. This had been done at Poona where the lacunae in the old Poona Residency records were filled up by taking transcripts from the Imperial Records. He said that they, therefore, would recommend this to the Punjab Government, but that the details must be settled by the Record Officer and the Punjab Government. Dr. Chopra said that that was already being done in the Punjab. He added that greater facilities were given to students in the Punjab Record Office than in other record offices and that teachers were welcomed in the Punjab Record Office, and also that the rules were interpreted very liberally there.

XVI.—A clear and comprehensive definition of historical records.

In his letter, dated the 13th September 1937, Rev. Father H. Heras had written :—

“ I would like to point out that a clear and comprehensive definition of historical records should be given by the Commission for the better working of that body ”.

The following note by the Secretary on this suggestion was circulated among the members :—

“ Attention is invited to the discussions at page 160 of the Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings, Volume VI where it was proposed that the terms “ Historical ” (*i.e.*, to 1859) and “ Current ” (*i.e.*, from 1860) should be substituted for “ Pre-mutiny ” and “ Post-mutiny ”. At the suggestion of Mr. (now Sir) Montagu Butler the terms “ Company and Crown ” were finally adopted in describing the pre-mutiny and post-mutiny records. As the Crown records now indicate the records relating to Indian States it seems desirable to use the term “ Current ” for indicating the records from 1860 ”.

The Chairman remarked that Reverend Father H. Heras had proposed to discuss the nature of historical records in a paper to be submitted by him to the Commission. His paper, when received, might be circulated and discussed at the next meeting of the Commission. He added that the rules observed in European archives might be secured and they might be printed and circulated by the Secretary to the Commission.

XVII.—Date and place of the next meeting.

It was decided that this matter be left to the *ex-officio* President and the Secretary to the Commission to decide.

XVIII.—The following papers and publications were laid on the table :—

1. Annual Reports of the Record Offices.
2. Letter from the Director of Information (in charge of the Record Office), Bombay, No. 102, dated the 28th March 1933, stating that the annual report of the Bombay Secretariat Record Office was discontinued as a measure of retrenchment.
3. Progress Report of the Classification of the Company Records in the Imperial Record Department ⁽¹⁾.
4. Government of Madras, Finance Department, G. O. No. 639, dated the 28th November 1932, regarding the seven historic sites ⁽²⁾ commemorated in that Presidency.
5. (i) Handbook of the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Records, 1771-1859. Patna, 1933.
 (ii) A Handbook to the Historical Records in the office of the Secretary to the Agent to the Governor-General, Eastern States, and Political Agent at Sambalpur, 1803-06. Patna, 1933.
6. (i) Selections from the Marathi Records of the Peshwas' Daftari (45 volumes).
 (ii) Selections from the Persian Records (1 volume).
7. Selections from the Poona Residency Records (2 volumes).
8. List of pre-mutiny inscriptions in Christian burial grounds in the Patna District. (Published in 1836.)
9. Revenue Department Resolutions of the Government of Bombay, No. 11144, dated the 16th November 1914, and No. 2806, dated the 2nd November 1921, containing rules regarding access of students of history and others to the records in the Alienation Office, Poona ⁽³⁾.
10. Reports from the undermentioned corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission on the research work done by them during the years 1931-37 ⁽⁴⁾.
 1. Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Rajahmundry.
 2. Hakim Habibur Rahman, Dacca.
 3. Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.
 4. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., Indore.
 5. Lt-Col. H. Bullock, Murree.

⁽¹⁾ Appendix C.

⁽²⁾ Appendix A, page 181.

⁽³⁾ Appendix J.

⁽⁴⁾ Appendix D.

6. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Agra.
7. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Delhi.
8. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Madras.
9. Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., Mayurbhanj State, Orissa.
10. Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., Sussex.
11. Sir William Foster, C.I.E., London.
12. Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, M.A., Lahore.
13. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Madras.
14. Lala Ram Chand Manchanda, Advocate, Lahore.
15. Mr. G. H. Luce, M.A., I.E.S., Rangoon.
16. Dr. Radhakumud Mookherji, M.A., Ph.D., Lucknow.
17. Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Vizianagram.
18. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca.
19. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr.
20. Dr. Muhammad Nazim, M.A., Ph.D., Officiating Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, Patna.
21. Prof. S. V. Venkateswara Aiyar, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Department of Indian History, Presidency College, Madras.
22. Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, Bangalore.
11. List of books containing inscriptions on tombs and monuments in Christian graveyards in India and Burma (1).
12. Extract from the letter from Mr. Paramananda Acharya regarding the conservation of a building at Balasore which was formerly a factory of the East India Company.
13. Rules (2) governing the custody of and access to the—
 - (i) records relating to Indian States,
 - (ii) mixed records relating both to Indian States and British India, and
 - (iii) records relating to Tribal Areas in the possession of Bombay, Bengal, Bihar, Assam, and the North-West Frontier Province.

(1) Appendix F.

(2) Appendices K. & L.

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, etc., on the Resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Thirteenth Meeting.

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Provincial Governments.	Remarks.
<i>Resolution 1.</i> —(i) That the Commission recommend to the Government of India that the Dutch records in the possession of the Governments of Bengal and Bombay as well as those in the Imperial Record Office should be concentrated in the Madras Record Office; and the Commission beg to thank the Government of Madras for promising to house the records.	The Government of India agreed that all Dutch records in India should be concentrated in the Madras Record Office.		The Dutch records in the custody of the Government of Bengal with relevant English records and the four volumes of such records in the Imperial Record Department were transferred to the Government of Madras. A few Bengali records regarding the mortgage of lands and loans and Danish records relating to judicial and legal transactions of the old Danish Settlement at Serampore, which were found among the Bengal Dutch records, were sorted out and returned to the Government of Bengal.
(ii) The Commission further recommend that the Government of Madras be requested to resume their policy of publishing important Dutch records.		The Government of Madras in their letter no. 23263-E.R.I., dated the 8th August 1931, stated that owing to financial stringency they regretted their inability to undertake the publication of important Dutch records.	
<i>Resolution 2.</i> —That the thanks of the Commission be conveyed to the Government of Bombay for their having accepted a working scheme for the speedy completion of the exploration and sorting of the Marathi records in the Poona Alienation Office, and for their undertaking to publish selections from those records in such an excellent form as the four volumes already issued.			
<i>Resolution 3.</i> —That the Commission recommend to the Government of Bombay the desirability of placing such unprinted transcripts from these records as have been passed by Government or any local committee advising		The Government of Bombay in their letter No. 7454-C., dated the 4th February 1932, stated that they had already printed and published 24 bro-	The cream of the Marathi records of the Peshwas' Dafta has since been published by the Provincial Government in 45 volumes, under the editorship of Rao

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Provincial Governments.	Remarks.
<p>them in a reading room for study and transcription by students holding permits, in the presence of some officer.</p> <p><i>Resolution 4.</i>—That the Commission recommend to the consideration of the Government of Bombay the adoption of the following rule:—</p>		<p>chures containing selections from the Peshwas' Daftar and that additional brochures would be printed and published in due course. They could not therefore state how many transcripts would remain unprinted by the time the printing of the Selections was finished. They therefore held that the question of placing the unprinted transcripts in a reading room could best be considered after the work in connection with the selection and printing of documents from those records was over.</p>	<p>Bahadur G. S. Sardesai. Selections from the Poona Residency Records are also in course of publication under the joint editorship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai. Several volumes of this series have already been published.</p>
<p>Such papers among the records in the Poona Alienation Office as are not of a historical or political character but supply only economic information or data unlikely to disturb existing land rights or political relations, may be placed, in the original, in the reading room for study on previous requisition by approved applicants.</p>		<p>In the aforesaid letter the Government of Bombay stated that the records in the Alienation Office were not classified into subjects such as Political, Judicial, etc., and that there was no separate collection of papers dealing only with economics not likely to disturb existing land rights or political relations. There was no suitable reading room in the Alienation Office and it was not possible to do more than what was being done.</p>	
<p><i>Resolution 5.</i>—That a limited number of scholars (both from British India and the Indian States) and record officers (from the Indian States) may, subject to the</p>		<p>In the foregoing letter the Government of Bombay stated as follows: "every effort is being made to give</p>	

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Provincial Governments.	Remarks.
<p>previous approval of the Government of Bombay and the facilities of supervision available, be permitted to work in the record room of the Peshwas' Daftar, to learn and (where possible assist in) the work of exploring and studying the Marathi records that is now being conducted there under an expert staff appointed by Government and that the persons enjoying such permission should be subjected to the following rules, namely :—</p>	<p>(a) They are to be supplied with volumes or bundles only on written requisition, provided that these volumes or bundles do not belong to the sections that are classed as confidential.</p> <p>(b) No note or transcript is to be allowed to be taken out of the record room without the written approval of the Record Keeper on each requisition.</p> <p>(c) Every person applying for a permit must sign a declaration that he will not use any information gathered from these records for the purpose of litigation or appeal to Government.</p>	<p>access (without payment of fees) to students of history and economics both from British India and the Indian States as far as the seating accommodation in the Alienation Office permits. The scholars permitted to inspect the records get facilities to learn the work of exploring and studying the Marathi records in course of their inspection. There already exist rules under which permission to inspect the records is granted to genuine students of history, Jahagirdars (<i>sic</i>) so lies Sardars or other high personages for compiling the history of their own families, and that these rules are satisfactory, have stood the test of time and serve the purposes of the rules proposed by the Commission."</p>	
<p><i>Resolution 6.</i>—That the Commission beg again to draw the attention of the Government of Bombay to the necessity of their appointing a qualified whole time Record Keeper, in view of the great value and quantity of the records held by them.</p>		<p>In the same letter referred to above the Government of Bombay stated that in view of the expense involved and the need for economy they did not consider the recommendation to appoint a whole-time Record Keeper in the Bombay Secretariat Record Office as a practical proposition.</p>	

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Provincial Governments.	Remarks.
<i>Resolution 7 (i).</i> —That the programme of the Commission be so modified in future as to make visits to and exploration of the local records the main work of the session, one entire day being set apart for this purpose.			
<i>Resolution 7 (ii).</i> —Further, that the time devoted to the reading of papers at the public meeting should be reduced by a stricter discrimination among the papers submitted for acceptance, it being borne in mind that the primary object of the Commission is the work of archivism.			
<i>Resolution 8.</i> —That in the opinion of the Commission legislation similar to that in existence in England should be introduced at an early date, both by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, for the preservation, destruction, etc., of public documents.	In view of the difficulties and the cost involved in the separation of the confidential from the non-confidential records in the various record rooms in India the Government of India decided that it was not necessary to introduce any such legislation in India.		
<i>Resolution 9.</i> —That in the opinion of the Commission it is desirable for the Government of India to print a manual which would describe the best methods of preserving, repairing, sorting and indexing records, with practical hints from the Record Offices in England.	The Government of India decided that a summary of the instructions contained in the <i>Staff Manual</i> of the Imperial Record Department relating to the storage, preservation and repair of		1,000 copies of the pamphlet were printed in 1932 and they were extensively distributed among Government Departments, Political Officers of the Indian States, Public Libraries and

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Provincial Governments.	Remarks.
<p><i>Resolution 10.</i>—That the Commission recommend to the Government of Bihar and Orissa to establish a provincial record office, at which the historical records surviving in the districts and divisions would be concentrated, and to place this office in charge of a competent record-keeper, with facilities for study by genuine students subject to the conditions that usually obtain in other record offices.</p>	<p>old records should be printed for the use and guidance of record offices in India.</p>	<p>Forwarded to the Local Government for information and such action as may be considered necessary.</p> <p>In his demi-official letter* No. 45-R., dated the 14th January 1938, the Secretary, Revenue Department, Government of Bihar, stated "A preliminary survey has been made and a Handbook of Bihar and Orissa provincial records has been compiled and published by the Bihar Government. It is proposed to take up the question of the establishment of a provincial record office in consultation with the Board of Revenue now".</p>	<p>Institutions and Universities throughout India and among the members and corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The requisitions which were received by the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, from some of the recipients for additional copies fairly indicate that this pamphlet fulfilled the purpose for which it was intended.</p>
<p><i>Resolution 11.</i>—That in view of the deplorable condition of the papers relating to the old correspondence of the Judge and Magistrate of Patna and the correspondence of the Thagi and Dacoity Commission in the record room of the District Judge of Patna, a request be made to the Government of Bihar and Orissa to take proper steps for the preservation of these records.</p>	<p>Ditto.</p>		

*This letter was addressed to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James of the Patna High Court.

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Provincial Governments.	Remarks.
<i>Resolution 12.</i> —That a copy of Sir Evan Cotton's paper* be sent to the Government of Bihar and Orissa for such action as they may consider fit.		The inscription on the pillar in the Patna city cemetery which was erected in memory of the victims of the massacre of 1763 has been replaced by a new inscription based on the research of Sir Evan Cotton. A corrected list of the inscription has been inserted as an Appendix to the revised <i>List of pre-mutiny inscriptions in Christian burial grounds in the Patna District</i> , with a brief introduction and biographical notes compiled by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James of the Patna High Court.	
<i>Resolution 13.</i> —That the Commission beg to invite the attention of the Government of Bihar and Orissa to the desirability of placing commemorative tablets on the historical buildings in Patna on the lines adopted in Calcutta.	Forwarded to the Local Government for information and such action as may be considered necessary.	The Government of Bihar have sanctioned the placing of a memorial tablet on the old opium building at Gulzarbagh commemorating the enthronement of Emperor Shah Alam.	
<i>Resolution 14.</i> —That the Commission recommend to the various Governments the desirability of placing memorial tablets on historic sites (such as the field of Panipat), and preserving similar monuments where they already exist.		The Government of Bihar and Orissa enquired whether it was worth placing memorial tablets on the three historical sites:— (1) Tukaroi; (2) Sigauli, Champaran, where the famous Nepalese treaty was signed in 1815; (3) Lalbalu in Purnea, site of the engagement between the mutinous 11th Irregular Cavalry and a British Force on the 11th December 1857.	

*Read at the 13th session of the Commission held at Patna in December 1930.

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Provincial Governments.	Remarks.
<p><i>Resolution 15.—That the note prepared by the Secretary be sent to Captain H. Bullock.</i></p>	<p>Approved.</p>	<p>It was decided to commemorate only the battle field of Tukaroi which is in the Dantoon Thana in Midnapore, a district of Bengal. In consultation with Sir Jadunath Sarkar the Secretary to the Indian Historical Records Commission has suggested to the Local Government that the following inscriptions may be recorded on the tablet for the commemoration of this site :—“In the plain between this village and Nahanjrah three miles east of it the army of the Emperor Akbar decisively defeated Daud, the Afghan King of Bengal, on 3rd March 1575.”</p> <p>The Government of Madras decided that seven sites* mentioned in the list annexed to their G. O. No. 639, dated the 28th November 1932, should be commemorated by the erection of suitable memorial tablets thereon.</p>	<p>A copy of the note on the records relating to the Indian Army prepared by the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, was sent to Captain Bullock (<i>vide</i> pt. 181-3, I. tt. R.C. volume XIII).</p>

*1. Fort St. David ; 2. Porto Novo ; 3. Karunguli ruined fort ; 4. Pulicat ruined Fort, 5. Angleyulapadu ; 6. Wandiwash ; 7. Kappakadavu.

Resolution of the Commission.	Order of the Government of India.	Action taken by Provincial Governments.	Remarks.
<i>Resolution 16.</i> —That an invitation be sent to Captain Bullock to become a corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, so that when he becomes a member a liaison will be established between the Commission and the students interested in Army Historical Research.	Approved.		Lieutenant-Colonel Bullock was appointed a corresponding member of the Commission in 1931 and reappointed in 1934.
<i>Resolution 17.</i> —That the Secretary be requested to submit at the next session of the Commission a detailed report on the condition of the records already transferred from Calcutta to New Delhi and how they have stood the journey.			The entire records have since been transferred to New Delhi and their condition is satisfactory.
<i>Resolution 18.</i> —That the Commission recommend that the document* be properly edited and printed and that funds be asked for from the Government of India for this purpose.	Owing to financial stringency the Government of India were unable to sanction any expenditure in connection with the printing and publication of Colonel Tod's manuscripts on the Pindaris.		A monograph on the Pindaris was edited by the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, and was made ready for the press. When printed this will form the second Volume in the series "Studies in Indian Records."
<i>Resolution 19.</i> —That the date and place of the next meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission be settled in the usual manner by the Secretary in consultation with the President.			

* (Manuscript on the "Origin, Progress and Present State of the Pindaris, 1811-13", composed by Lieutenant Colonel James Tod. This manuscript was found in the Central Provinces Record Office and the Provincial Government printed without editing 30 copies for official use.)

APPENDIX B.

Papers discussed at the members' meeting :—

1. Some problems concerning the scope and expansion of the Punjab Record Office.

. By Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.

2. A few observations on the Record Rooms of India.

By Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt. (Oxon.), Ashutosh Professor of Indian History, University of Calcutta.

3. Facilities for the study of Historical Records in India.

By The Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of History, St. Xaviers College, Bombay.

4. A note on the correlation of Indian Historical Records.

By J. F. Bruce, M.A., Professor of History, University of the Punjab.

Some Problems concerning the Scope and Expansion of the Punjab Record Office.

(By Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law.)

It was in the year 1891 that a famous historical building of Lahore, the Tomb of Anarkali, was taken over by Government from the ecclesiastical authorities for the storage of the Punjab Secretariat records. In addition to the records of the main Secretariat, those belonging to the offices of the Financial Commissioner and the Inspector General of Police were lodged under the same roof. They were packed into almirahs or otherwise tied into bundles, but were kept available to restorers who would come and take away the papers required for reference in the main office, some of them never to be restored to their original places. Little attention was paid to their sorting or preservation for about fifteen years. In 1903 Mr. S. C. Hill, Officer-in-charge of the Records of the Government of India, submitted a memorandum to the Secretary of State raising the question of the location and preservation of official records in this country. He roundly condemned the system of record-keeping in India ; and, in view of the climatic conditions of this country, suggested that all originals of such documents the copies of which did not exist in the India Office, should be removed to England. He also proposed (a) that a list should be made of all records of interest anterior to 1800 A.D. ; (b) that all records should be kept under the charge of an Imperial Officer ; and (c) that all documents previous to the abolition of the East India Company should be stored at one provincial centre.

The first of these proposals did not affect this Province which contains no records previous to 1803. The second appeared to the Punjab Government objectionable as calculated to weaken the responsibility of local officers. With regard to the third proposal also the Government preferred to leave things as they were, partly because the greater bulk of the documents was already at headquarters either in original or in copy, and partly because the district offices were found, as a rule, to contain either very little of interest or such documents as were likely to be needed frequently for local reference. The Provincial Government, therefore, did not support any of the proposals made in Mr. Hill's memorandum, although Sir Charles Rivaz was personally inclined to believe that it would be worth while having the records examined by an officer with a view to print some which might prove of special historical interest.

In 1904 Mr. Anderson, the Commissioner of Lahore, made a similar suggestion and later (Mr. now Sir Edward) Maclagan adopted a more definite line of action by actually preparing a scheme with an estimate of expenditure. Two methods were to be adopted, according to this scheme, for putting the public in possession of the contents of historical records, *viz.*, the preparation of Press Lists and the publication of Selections. All documents of historical, antiquarian, topographical or social interest were to be printed *in extenso* in octavo volumes of about 400 pages each, similar in size and shape to Mr. Wilson's "Early Annals of the English in Bengal." A sum of Rs. 36,000 was to be spent over a period of two years and was to include the emoluments of a suitable officer who would be employed for that period. The Provincial Government sponsored Mr. Maclagan's scheme in a letter addressed to the Government of India in January, 1905, representing that a perusal of the records would be of great value to persons engaged in historical research and to others connected by local and personal associations with this Province, and seeking the Government

of India's sanction for the emoluments of an editor being fixed at Rs. 750 per mensem. This sanction came in April 1905 and the late Mr. A. Raynor, sometime Registrar of the Punjab Civil Secretariat, was deputed to carry out the scheme.

Mr. Raynor began his work in November 1905 with a small establishment curiously known as "destruction clerks". It soon became apparent, however, that the cost of the scheme had been under-estimated. In regard to the preparation of Press Lists it had been thought that the volumes of indices already existing would serve the purpose with little or no change, and that there would be nothing more to be done than to put the existing indices into type. But on closer scrutiny the indices were discovered to be inadequately expressive to make suitable Press Lists. They had, therefore, to be recast. This meant slower progress with the scheme than was anticipated. The Central Government was approached to sanction the extension of Mr. Raynor's tenure by another two years. The extension was granted. At the end of 1909, a second extension was sought. This time the Central Government expressed serious doubts about considering this work as of such great merit and usefulness as to justify an expenditure which was then estimated at about a lakh of rupees, and decided for the termination of Mr. Raynor's tenure and work. Several years later another gentleman, Colonel H. R. Goulding, was appointed to resume this work, but before he could make much headway his post was brought under reduction.

In January 1923 Mr. Garrett, then a Professor in the Government College, was allowed access to the records which he wished to inspect for making use of them for his post-graduate history students. On his first visit to the Tomb, he had to make his way through a few broken and cast off tables and five spare commodes to get at certain papers. He made certain proposals unofficially to Sir Edward Maclagan, the new head of the Province, for the conversion of the Tomb into a proper Record Office, and for his own appointment and designation as "Officer-in-charge of the Punjab Historical Records". His proposals were accepted by Government and Anarkali's Tomb came thus to be constituted into what it is today. The year 1880 was fixed as the limit beyond which students would not be allowed access to the papers. In 1924 Mr. Garrett was entrusted with all the records that could be placed in the Tomb and his designation was changed to the 'Keeper of the Records'. Rules for the management of the Record Office were framed in the same year, and Sir Edward Maclagan's private collection of out-of-print historical books was now transferred to our office to serve as the nucleus of a small library.

After Sir Edward Maclagan, Sir Malcolm (now Lord) Hailey came forward with many valuable suggestions, one of which resulted in a small museum which is maintained as a part of our archives. A collection of photographs of historical documents and portraits of historical celebrities connected with the Punjab was later acquired from various sources, and photostat copies of certain valuable manuscripts have also been obtained in recent years to form part of our repository.

In 1927 it came to be known that John Lawrence's papers had been destroyed at Jullundur. The Deputy Commissioners were, therefore, instructed by Government that they should have the earlier district records scrutinized, with a view to separate all papers of historical worth, which they should send to the Record Office at Lahore, and that in no case should such documents be destroyed without reference to the Keeper of the Records. It was also suggested that the Keeper should himself

inspect the district offices to explore the possibility of concentrating such documents in his own office at Lahore. Mr. Garrett, however, could not tour into the Mofussil and the Lecturers in History of the Mofussil Colleges were deputed to do this work. This latter method, however, did not prove fruitful.

The Records of the Judicial and the Revenue Departments from 1849 to 1853 were transferred to our office in 1923 and those of the Education Department (from 1854 to 1882) in 1931. Press Lists of them have since been prepared.

The materials that are lodged in our office have already been fully described by Mr. Garrett in the papers which he read at two former sessions of the Commission and also in a recently published report by Dr. B. S. Baliga, Curator of the Madras Record Office, which he prepared during his training with us in 1935. A brief mention of our present day activities may, however, be made here. These can be grouped under seven separate headings :-

1. *Administrative*.—We are constantly supplying old files to the main Secretariat and to various other offices to enable them to deal with current cases. These files are often accompanied with historical notes or comments from our own staff to assist the dealing officers.

2. *Archivistic*.—As custodians of records, our main business is that of flattening, mending, stitching and filing the records. This work is being constantly done all the year round, and is intended to preserve and prolong the life of all documents in our possession.

3. *Research*.—Research is a noteworthy feature of our Record Office. Every reasonable facility is afforded to professors and students to pursue historical investigations. A fresh batch of post-graduate history students of the Punjab University receive their training annually in methods of research by being permitted to examine our non-confidential records and to produce their theses for the Masters' Degree. Special facility, indeed, is available to them all through the presence of the Keeper who, since the time of my predecessor, happens to be a teacher of history. Since 1927 a few selected theses based on these records have been published under the general editorship of the Keepers who themselves have contributed to our series of historical monographs. Eighteen interesting monographs have so far been published in this way.

4. *Restoration of Missing Documents*.—As I have stated above the records were not being properly cared for before 1923 and gaps appeared in some of our papers which we are always trying to fill. The Punjab High Court took away their records in 1892, the Government of the North West Frontier at the formation of that Province, and other branches in the Secretariat whenever they required any papers to dispose of current cases. The main Secretariat have already re-supplied some files belonging to us, and we are after the Financial Commissioners' office in pursuit of the same object. We have also tried to fill our gaps by procuring copies from the archives of the Government of India and from the India Office, London. The High Court has very recently been approached to retransfer the old records from 1853 to 1889 to our custody.

5. *Collection of Historical Pictures*.—This again is a special feature of the Punjab Record Office and is, so far as I am aware, not to be found in any other similar archive in India. A considerable amount of money has been expended upon procuring

the pictures and reproductions of celebrities specially connected with the history of Northern India.

6. Special Work.—The Keeper of the Records has also been entrusted by Government with some special historical work at different times. My predecessor compiled “A supplementary list of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in the Punjab, etc.”, which was published in 1935. I published an English translation of some two hundred Persian letters about the court of Ranjit Singh which were loaned to us by the Alienation Office at Poona in 1936. Besides, I have, since the beginning of last year, been engaged in revising and bringing up to date the existing edition of the well-known book of official reference, in three volumes, entitled the “Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab”.

7. Cataloguing of Persian Bustas.—The main work we have now in hand is the sorting and cataloguing of Persian papers which have long been lying neglected with us. The Persian materials also date back to 1803, the year of the beginning of our English records, and make as many as 300 *Bustas* (bundles). The plan of exploring this section has been evolved by myself and under my supervision the work is being carried on by my Assistant. In the discharge of my duties I have come across several problems and the real object of this paper is to discuss these before the Commission and to seek their expert guidance about the future expansion of the Record Office.

Proper Scope of a Provincial Record Office.—The first question arises, what should be the proper scope of a Provincial Record Office like ours, particularly under autonomous constitutions? Should it be regarded as merely a store-house of our existing possessions or as a repository, the contents of which have to be enlarged and built up by procuring new documents of historical value from wherever they can be procured? In other words, are we merely to preserve our existing stock against decay and dilapidation, or, are we to claim new materials from the various branches of the administration and from private individuals and families? On the one hand, nobody will deny the desirability of our procuring needful copies to fill our existing gaps from other record rooms and libraries; on the other hand, it is not quite clear how and where we should fix our limits either in terms of dates or subjects with regard to the past. At present, the bulk of our records, both English and Persian, deals with the north Indian and south Asian history of the nineteenth century, and we have no documents relating to the events of the earlier centuries. The question arises, must we not go to the earlier period in quest of historical materials? Manuscript histories and chronicles, dealing with the Muslim period of Indian history, indeed, do come our way frequently and these can sometimes be acquired at small expense or by mere persuasion. Are we to ignore all such treasures of historical knowledge and permanently fix our limits as to the past on the beginning of the nineteenth century? If not, can we go back to early mediaeval or even ancient times in our quest for records, and enrich likewise the contents of our museum?

A Central Record Office.—The second question, and a more important one, is whether we have to remain content with the records that are now in our keeping, or, have we to claim, as Keepers of the Records of Government, for preservation in our archives, the records of all the administrative branches functioning under the Punjab Government? As already stated in this paper, the Keeper of the Records here was first known as “Officer-in-charge of the Punjab Historical Records”, and was given

the custody of papers from 1803 to 1880. But later his designation was changed to that of the "Keeper of the Records", and he readily took charge of all such papers, as could be accommodated in the Tomb.

Time has now definitely arrived when the question of a Central Record Office should be seriously considered. After the year 1868 no departmental records are complete with us. They are all scattered over different branches of the administration, which follow their own methods for preservation and destruction. Some of them have destroyed the old records merely because they did not require them for reference, and others because they had no staff or space to cope with their ever increasing bulk. Occasional weeding of records is undoubtedly necessary, but wholesale destruction of departmental records is against all principles of archivism and is to be deprecated. The present building of the main Secretariat has, again, no further room for accommodation as unnecessary duplication is being continued in several ways.

The next important office is that of the Financial Commissioners. Their office was created in 1853 and they have followed their own separate system of keeping the records. The Irrigation Secretariat and that of the Buildings and Roads have their own record rooms with different methods of file-keeping; so also the Inspectors General of Civil Hospitals, of Prisons, of Police, Directors of Public Health, Agriculture and Education and the Punjab High Court, though all have valuable collections of their own.

In all the above different branches of the administration, the methods of record-keeping vary according to their own convenience and staff. There are no special arrangements for cleaning, preservation, mending and indexing the records. Even the file system differs from office to office, and, besides unnecessary duplication of records, separate staffs employed in different record rooms are necessarily more costly than would be the case if there was a Central Record Office, a uniform system, a well-controlled and trained staff, and proper arrangements for renovation and indexing, for all the departmental branches of the provincial administration.

I understand, indeed, that the Imperial Record Department is a repository of all documents pertaining to the different branches functioning under the Government of India. It has a whole-time keeper and a trained staff. In the Punjab, too, ninety five per cent cases are disposed of with the help of current records or of records subsequent to the year 1920, and it is for the other five per cent or so that records prior to 1920 are consulted. A year should, therefore, be fixed, prior to which all files of whatsoever kind may be lodged in the Central Record Office which would ensure their upkeep in accordance with modern methods of archivism. Such a scheme would be more economical as it would tend to curtail expenditure on the staff and on accommodation; it would be beneficial for the preservation of papers, and, most important of all, it would be convenient for all the administrative branches, as, with a proper and uniform index system, a trained staff will be enabled to provide all old files in the shortest possible time.

Dispersal of Records.—Far from concentrating the records in one place, the Punjab Record Office is sometimes threatened with the dispersal of materials already in its custody. As already mentioned, papers relating to the Frontier and the High Court were taken away; and now, through recent changes in political control over the Punjab States and the Punjab Hill States, demands have been made upon us to

supply and surrender original files pertaining to these states. Are such requisitions to be necessarily complied with by surrendering original files, or, can we say to the requisitioning authority, even if it be the Central Government, that it should content itself with certified copies of the originals ? Such a dispersal of records is a great menace to the whole of our system, for it threatens ultimately to destroy the very existence of our invaluable heritage by denudation. Our policy is rather filling up the existing gaps than allowing new gaps to be created. I commend this problem to the particular notice of the Commission.

Destruction of Departmental Records.—Weeding and destruction of departmental records is one further problem. Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners have already been circularised not to destroy any papers of historical value without reference to the Keeper who is also authorized to visit the District Offices in search of materials. The main Secretariat, too, have been advised to bring all old files to his notice. The Financial Commissioners' Office is already in consultation with us. And yet it often happens that valuable stuff is inadvertently destroyed without our knowledge or information. According to the various systems followed in different branches, departmental record-keepers are specially deputed from time to time to weed out unimportant files. Their discretion is limited, if at all, by vaguely defined rules issued by the departments. This method of periodical destruction without seeking expert advice seems objectionable, for it must lead to the destruction of some papers which might be judged as of ephemeral importance by an administrator but of priceless value by an historian. For, who can say what administrative note, observation, comment or proposal will be deemed historical by the future generations ? It seems, therefore, desirable that all destroying agencies should work in some sort of a liaison with the Keeper of the Records and no administrative materials from the different branches should be destroyed without his consultation.

Such are a few of the problems which have arisen during the past five years of my association with the Punjab Record Office. It has been remarked about the Indian Historical Record Commission that it has no questionnaire and that it answers questions rather than puts them. Let it then continue to play its characteristic role of offering its expert advice for the solution of these problems.

A few observations on the Record Rooms of India.

[By Prof. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt. (Oxon).]

Preservation is the archivist's first and foremost concern. It is an axiom of archives keeping about which there is no difference of opinion. Hence follows the corollary that indiscriminate admission into record rooms must not be demanded. So far, the student of history is at one with the record keeper. But there is a wide-spread feeling among responsible research scholars in this country that caution may go too far. If old records had been preserved for administrative purposes alone most of the seventeenth and eighteenth century papers might be safely consigned to the fire. Even papers of more recent origin could be thrown away without any inconvenience to the government concerned. To cite only one instance, in a district record room of Bengal there is a large number of hasty notes, sometimes in pencil, jotted down by the District Officer of the day, when the indigo troubles were at their height. To the students of history these notes are invaluable, to the district administration they are absolutely useless, for,

indigo planters are as extinct to-day as the gigantic reptiles of a bygone geological age. The record keeper may not, therefore, treat the curiosity of the historian with undue suspicion ; he may indeed find a useful ally and collaborator in that prying specimen of humidity. In these days of financial stringency and retrenchment, when popular ministers are reluctant to add to the expenses of uneconomic departments, the record keeper may very well enlist the services of research students, to whom the privilege of examining the archives is granted, for indexing, transcribing and cataloguing the records in which they are interested. Such co-operation will be of mutual benefit to both the parties.

The time has come when some of the existing rules may be conveniently relaxed. I do not for a moment suggest anything that may in any way affect the safety of the archives, but is it quite impossible to bring the provincial record rooms in line with the record room of the India Office or the Public Record Office of London. In India all records are divided into two categories irrespective of their age and antiquity and undue stress is given on their subject matter. All papers are designated either as "public" or "political and private". No difficulty is ordinarily raised about the examination and transcription of the archives of the first category, but permission is not so readily granted about the scrutiny of records designated "political and private". In the India Office, however, all *bona fide* students are permitted to examine all seventeenth century records irrespective of their subject matter and one may take notes or transcribe the papers without any official supervision or scrutiny. Cheap and reliable typed copies are also available. Permission to examine eighteenth century records is not so freely granted. But once the necessary leave is obtained the student encounters no further difficulty about notes and transcription. I speak from personal experience. Similar practice prevails in the National and Colonial Archives of Paris and the Archivo Ultramarino of Lisbon. The Public Record Office of London is more liberal in this respect and every paper which is a century old is deemed a legitimate object of the historian's curiosity. After all, these records are raw materials of history.

Is it impossible to pursue a similar policy with respect to records in India ? Does it matter much if it is discovered that a public servant of eminence, long deceased, committed an indiscretion one century or two centuries ago ? A responsible public man once told me that the Peshwa Daftari of Poona could not be thrown open to the research scholar, because his industry may one day reveal some records that may help to revive some inconvenient claims, rejected, rightly or wrongly, by the Inam Commission. I believe most people will recognise that this objection is not frivolous but at the same time it should not be ignored that this difficulty is not insuperable, and the problem may be easily solved by passing an Indemnity Act.

It is sometimes argued that when exhaustive selections are available to the public no legitimate grievance can be made if access to those archives is either wholly denied or severely restricted. Distinction should be made between restriction and refusal. Admission must be regulated according to the available space of the reading room, free access to the stocking room must also be denied, but at the same time it should be conceded that no selection, however exhaustive, can altogether preclude the necessity of a fresh examination of the published records and a scrutiny of the papers deemed unworthy of publication. The point

needs no elaboration, as every member of the Historical Records Commission knows from his personal experience that selections and descriptive catalogues cannot always serve our purpose, as different students may approach the same problem from different angles of vision.

Exhaustive catalogues of District Record Rooms would be a great help to the growing number of research students who do not exactly know where to seek the information they need. Some of the Provincial Record Rooms have excellent guides and catalogues but the District Record Rooms are still more or less neglected, specially because untrained ministerial officers are usually in charge of them.

The cause of historical investigation in India would undoubtedly be furthered if the Imperial and Provincial Record Rooms could see their way to supply rotograph copies of their archives at a reasonable rate on application from genuine investigators. A rotograph machine is not very expensive and the capital invested in it will be realised with profit once the research student is notified of the new arrangement. As it is, even when the record keeper is prepared to supply transcriptions of a particular archive, practical difficulty may stand in his way and the applicant may have to go disappointed. There are some Dutch records at Calcutta. They were originally in the District Record Room of Hooghly and they relate mostly to the Dutch factory of Chinsurah. Of more interest are the Dutch records preserved in the Madras Record Room of which a descriptive list is available in print. Few people from Lahore or Calcutta can find time to travel to Madras on the off-chance of a Dutch letter throwing some light on the subject of his particular investigation. But Dutch-knowing scribes are not easily available at Madras. The Keeper of the Madras Record Room may not, therefore, be able to supply the Lahore or Calcutta student with transcriptions of specified records in spite of all the willingness in the world. A machine will be of immense use where man is helpless. Again, a rotograph copy is always more reliable than a transcription, however careful. A man may unconsciously lapse into his accustomed spelling but a machine will unerringly reproduce the original. This is no small gain to the conscientious investigator, for sometimes a single alphabet may go a long way in the identification of a historical place or personage.

Historians must always rely on the archivist for their raw materials and the progress of historical studies in India depends to a great extent upon their co-operation. There is a wide-spread feeling that an Indian student finds more facilities in the record rooms of England and France than in his own country. The time has come when this grievance, if well founded, should be remedied.

Facilities for the study of Historical Records in India.

(By The Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., M.A.).

Having been myself connected with several record offices in India both in my private capacity and as the Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute, I have realized that different policies are followed in the Indian provinces and states. A survey of these policies will perhaps be of interest to the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission who may be helped thereby to propose recommendations for a uniform liberal policy all through the country.

Record rooms or record offices or simply archives are meant for storing records safely and systematically ; but this keeping of historical records is of little use if the records were not to be examined or studied by anybody. Therefore, the constitution of a record room though it is meant primarily for the keeping of such records, yet mediately and indirectly supposes the granting of facilities to readers and scholars in their study of ancient times and civilization.

Now it is evident that the authorities should have the right to impose two limitations on the use of records ; one limitation refers to the person, the other to the records themselves. As regards the first, the records are not open to the public in general as expressly said in the rules and regulations of Bengal (1) and Lahore (2). In particular, Bombay (3) excludes novelists from the record office. On the contrary the historical records are to be used "for *bona fide* historical research", as the Bombay (note) and Lahore rules (6) say. Other rules seem at first sight more liberal ; "students and others" says Bengal (2) ; "persons in general" announce Madras (3) ; Lahore (2) and Baroda (6). Yet in the application of these rules, they are often stricter than the others. Thus the Madras rules (5) say : "Government reserve to themselves the right to refuse or to modify any application as they consider necessary" and the Baroda rules (2) : The "Raj Daftardar may refuse any application or accept it with such modifications as he deems necessary". And this even if the applications are according to the conditions laid down in sub-section (1) of No. 6 : for No. 7 declares that "applications which are not received according to sub-section (1) shall not be considered". Even the Bombay rules, after stating that the records are "for *bona fide* historical research", add (3) : "Government reserves to itself the right to refuse or to modify any application". Much worse seems to be the policy of the Patna Record Department for in a letter addressed to the writer by the Under Secretary in charge, it is said "that Government do not permit members of the public to have access to the records in the Secretariat Record Room. Anyone desiring copies of or information from records should apply in writing to the Record Keeper, Secretariat Building, Patna. A searching fee of one rupee shall also be deposited in advance, which will not be refunded if it is decided that the information or copies cannot be supplied" (13-ix-37). Accordingly, in Patna neither *bona fide* historical students nor for the matter of that professors or scholars of repute can in any way handle or examine the historical records by themselves, a policy unheard of in any Government record office or archives. As if such a strict policy were not enough, the letter adds at the end : "The Provincial Government reserve to themselves the right to reject or modify any application". Much more general and sweeping seems to be the prohibition as regards the records of the Jaipur State. In a letter addressed to the writer by the Registrar, Mahakma Khas, Jaipur, it is stated : "The files in the Mahakma Khas Secretariat Office are all official records of the State, which, it is regretted, are not open to inspection by the public" (27-viii-37).

It is therefore gratifying not to find such restrictions or prohibitions in the rules of the Lahore Record Office. And indeed if the applicant is a *bona fide* historical student, there is no reason why he should be deprived of the right any good citizen has of studying the ancient history of his country. The application, about which I shall speak later on, will show whether the applicant is a *bona fide* research student or not. It is not even necessary in many cases to "produce a recommendation on the prescribed form" nor "a recommendation from their Consul or the Political Agent of

the State to which they belong " if the applicants are not British subjects, as the Bengal rules (8) prescribe.

The second limitation should refer to the records themselves. It is but natural that records which do not belong to a certain antiquity may be withheld from the general public. Moreover, certain documents referring to land contracts, irrigation and such subjects may at times be the cause of discontent, litigations, enmities and crimes which is the duty of any constituted government to avoid. Hence for the sake of public tranquillity and peace such documents may be refused even to *bona fide* students. Such is the reason of the following restriction found in the Madras rules (4) : " In the case of records belonging to the Revenue and Irrigation departments after 1800 and other departments after 1856, the Curator should refer to Government ". Not so reasonable sounds the following general rule of Bengal : " Government reserve to themselves the entire right to decide whether a document or archive shall be issued for inspection ".

Now coming to the facilities for study, the first point to be examined is the application. That there should be an application is but natural ; that certain details about the applicant and his purpose should be required in this application is the natural right of any authority that is looking after the preservation of such treasures. I shall only pay attention to the person to whom the application is to be directed.

The application is to be made and directed to the Curator, Keeper of Records or Raj Daftardar in Madras (3), Lahore (2), Bengal (6), and Baroda (6). And the Curator or Keeper of Records has power to grant permission to the applicant to work in the Record Office according to the regulations. This is very important in order to facilitate historical research. A professor, or a student for the matter of that, may have a few days' leave and on arriving at the city in the course of his first visit to the record office may thus obtain the required permission. This apparently could not be done so easily in Baroda with all the records, for " in the case of records belonging to individual departments the Raj Daftardar shall secure the previous consent of the heads of these departments " (8). Still worse is the regulation of Bombay where the applications are to be sent to and disposed of by the Chief Secretary to Government (2). Those who know how long such matters are delayed in such offices may easily understand that such applications are not despatched before eight and sometimes before ten or twelve days. Such delay is not in favour of historical research.

It is evident that the study of the records is to be done within the record office, but it should be advisable that a search room should be set apart for this work as the Bengal Record Office has done (3). Other offices may also have a similar room, though it is not expressly mentioned in the regulations. Yet in some offices the search is to be done in the general room where the clerks work, type and chat, a circumstance that does not help the quiet and intensive work of the reader of ancient records.

It is not easily understood why the permission should be granted for a limited period, for six months in Bengal (9) and for two in Madras (6) and Baroda (7) after which limit it is understood the application must be renewed. If the searcher has proved objectionable, or not complying with the conditions laid down in the permit or the regulations of the respective record offices, the Curator or Keeper of Records has always power to refuse the admission of such person to the office, by which action

the granted permission is considered withdrawn. But if the conduct of the person is not objectionable, then, there is no reason why the permission granted to him should not be indefinite.

The time granted to research students and scholars for the examination of records is not very long. From 1½ a.m. to 4-30 p.m., in Madras (2) and Bengal (4); from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. in Bombay (1) and from 12 noon to 5 p.m. in Baroda. Those who have been working in the British Museum remember that the MS. room is open before the Museum itself is open to the general public to give facilities to scholars and students. Would it not be advisable to have our record rooms open at 9 a.m. in order to foster historical research?

Once the application has been filled in or written and the applicant has proved his *bona fide* purpose, sometimes strengthened by recommendations or certificates, and the Curator's or Keeper's permission has been granted, one would say that the applicant could start his work in the research office, but it is not so. Another permission or permissions are required. The Bengal rules prescribe that "no person may be permitted to make a copy of any documents without reference to the Department concerned" (20). According to these rules extracts apparently are permitted, as they are not expressly mentioned. Much less the use of information gained from the records is forbidden by this rule. But the regulations of Bombay (5) and Lahore (6-2) seem unreasonably stricter: "Permission must be obtained to take copies of extracts and to make use of information gained from the records." Accordingly no *bona fide* research scholar is allowed to take copies or even to take extracts or use any information obtained from the study of the records.

The Madras rules seem to be a little broader: "Copies or extracts from the records shall not be taken out of the office building, nor shall any use be made of the information gained from the records without the permission of the Curator" (8). Apparently, copies of documents may be made and extracts may also be jotted down without permission; though they cannot be taken out of the record office without the Curator's permission. As regards the information derived from the records the Madras rule is as strict as the Bombay and Lahore rules.

The strictest rule seems to be the Baroda rule: "No persons shall be permitted to make a copy of any document or part of it without reference to the departments concerned. No person shall take copies or extracts from the records out of the office building nor shall he make any use of the information gained from the records without the permission of the Raj Daftardar." According to this rule, whenever the research scholar finds a document useful for his purpose before copying it he has first of all to obtain permission and that for each record.

Now if scholars and students go to the record rooms or offices it is for obtaining information for their historical works. If they cannot use such information without permission, what is the use of granting them permission to work in the office? Moreover, it is well known to all scholars that occasionally extracts from a document and at times the whole documents transcribed are required to substantiate a controversial point, to prove a fact, to contradict somebody else's statements; in one word, to fulfil the duty of the historian in producing the documentary evidence and the *apparatus criticus* demanded by the strict criticism and methodology of our times. Yet after having found the documents for which he was looking, the research scholar working in those record offices is once more to obtain another permission to be able

to copy those documents or even those extracts. This is a great drawback. One cannot understand what the purpose of the first permission to work in the office is, if this second permission is also required.

Once I asked one of my old research students returned from England what his impressions were, and he informed me that the most striking difference between England and India was that in India one stumbles against numberless difficulties while trying to do some research work ; while in England great facilities are given to everybody. His impression was quite true. If the rules and regulations of some of our record offices or archives are modified, historical research will be made easier and even inviting. There is nothing to fear from *bona fide* historians. The spread of knowledge will never cause any harm.

A note on the correlation of Indian Historical Records.

(By J. F. Bruce, M.A.)

I submit for your consideration that—

(I) There are two aspects of the systematic collection of official historical records, namely, (a) their preservation and arrangement, and (b) their use. The various Government Record Offices of India are much more concerned with the first than with the second of these aspects. But the value of their function ultimately depends entirely upon the second aspect, namely, the use of those documents. If Record Offices should be regarded primarily as repositories of official documents which may be found useful to later generations of administrators, their public utility would be very limited and their historical value would remain merely potential until such an occasion as that which made available to us the famous German selection, *Die Grosse Politik*. The present function of Indian Government Record Offices appears to lie somewhere between these two extremes ; but the preservation of their contents is apparently regarded as being much more important than their accessibility to non-official students. It would be well to consider the conditions under which the official records in India could, within necessary limits, be made more useful and more easily available to historical students.

(II) Apart from Government policy on this question, there are various intrinsic difficulties to the effective use of official records in India, which I suggest that it is highly proper for an expert assembly such as this to consider, with the object of removing or reducing them so far as practical means can be devised.

Some of these difficulties are natural, such as, particularly, (a) the wide geographical separation of the collections. Nearly all the other difficulties are due primarily to the excessive economy of their establishment. In short, the basic obstacle is financial. Every Indian Record Office is imperfectly staffed and equipped.

(b) *Cataloguing*.—The most direct consequence of this limitation is that its contents are imperfectly catalogued. It is quite essential to their national utility

that a system of definitive cataloguing should be advocated by all earnest historical students. Sectional catalogues can be progressively completed, printed and distributed among all Government Record Offices, Public Libraries and University Libraries at least in India. The great libraries of the world would take care to add such catalogues to their collections.

Something has been achieved in this respect, for example, in the Punjab Government Record Office and elsewhere, but much remains to be done and the doing will largely depend upon the recognition by Governments of its national and cultural value. For example, this Record Office does not possess a single whole-time trained archivist or cataloguer, equipped with the special knowledge necessary to its proper maintenance and development; because it is the considered opinion of Government that this province cannot afford it. In a more prosperous past the Punjab Government enabled the publication not only of certain catalogues, but also even of a selection of some of its historically most significant documents. We can hope that it will enable the continuation of both these processes, which it has recognised as essential to the purposes of its Record Offices. But this means the employment of trained cataloguers, who in this case should also have an exact knowledge of Persian.

(c) *Completion of series of documents.*—The progress of definitive cataloguing is apt to reveal the incompleteness of local collection of documents. My own search in this Record Office has often had this result. The gaps are so numerous as completely to hinder students confined to this province from reaching historically satisfactory conclusions. If definitive catalogues are systematically produced and exchanged in India, some of these gaps may be supplied; but it is doubtful whether the process of cataloguing within India alone will go very far to supply these particular defects, for the missing documents are to be found, if at all, only in London.

My own experience here has suggested that advanced local students of history could be usefully regimented for such permanently useful work. For example, a local research student has just begun to examine the career of Sir David Octerloney. There seems to be no reason why he should not supply an exhaustive '*catalogue raisonne*' of the original documents relating to his career, which should be useful to several Indian Record Offices. In short, in our present financial circumstances I suggest that the fullest use should be made of the work of well trained research students to advance the completion and correlation of Indian official records; as we are not yet in sight of the stage when such work can be left to the official trained employees of Record Offices.

(III) It has not yet become possible to contemplate the provision of trained archivists, such as lighten the task of the enquirer at Somerset House, London; but it seems not unreasonable to hope that, with the concentration of the Imperial Records in Delhi, we may be able to look forward to the establishment of training courses in archivism, similar to those in librarianship, such as is regularly conducted in the Punjab University Library.

(IV) It remains to suggest for your consideration a tentative programme for concerted activity among Indian Record Offices.

(i) After progressive systematic cataloguing upon the model adopted by the most highly developed European Record Offices, perhaps the first obvious function would be the systematic provision and exchange of

catalogue's raisonnés of the original documents in such collection which relate to important historical topics.

- (ii) This necessarily implies the systematic indication of *lacunæ* in series of documents and investigation of the possibility of exchange of exact copies, wherever necessary, for the completion of series. The most difficult problem in such correlation of documents is presented by the fact that very many are now to be found in unique copies only in London. Is it too much to expect that copies of such documents may be obtained from the India Office Library for the completion of Indian series? Perhaps it would be too bold to suggest that many such documents might be transferred from the India Office Library to the Imperial Records at Delhi, so that the present vital necessity for Indian scholars to proceed to London in order to study the official materials of their own history may gradually be lessened.
- (iii) A series of bulletins published by the Imperial and Provincial Record Offices, recording the progress and results of their archival activities similar to the publications of the Archaeological Department—would be very valuable and should not be impracticable.
- (iv) May I suggest the possibility of appointing trained searchers, under the auspices of the Imperial Record Office, to assist in the completion and correlation of series of documents?
- (v) Official records afford but a small part of the material of Indian history. Another system of collection and correlation is very necessary to Indian historiography, namely the institution of a *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, such as has performed admirable work of national importance in Great Britain.
- (vi) Would it be possible to secure the establishment of a Special Commission to promote the correlation of historical documents (a) within India, and (b) between India and Europe, especially London? Hitherto such work has been left to the devotion, energy and leisure of isolated historical scholars, of whom Sir Jadunath Sarkar is a conspicuous example.

Conclusion.—My plea, in short, is for the inauguration of a programme of concerted and systematic activity under the auspices of this Commission and with the practical approval of the various Indian Governments, in both the provinces and the States, for the disciplined collection, arrangement and utilisation of the vast but scattered materials of Indian history—a Hundred Years Plan.

APPENDIX C.

Progress report of the classification of the Company records in the Imperial Record Department up to the 30th November 1937.

Departments.	Branches.	Papers classified.		Papers unclassified.		Remarks.
		Period.	Number.	Period.	Number approxi- mate.	
Home ..	Public ..	1761-1857	2,14,166	..	..
	Public—Governor General's Proceedings. (b)	1837-55 ..	4,175	..	..
	Judicial ..	1834-57 ..	19,316	..	..
	Judicial—Governor-General's Proceedings.	1831-51 ..	4,672	..	..
Education, Health and Lands.	Education ..	1857 ..	490	..	..
	Medical ..	1845-57 ..	29,623	..	..
	Land Revenue ..	1838-59 (a).	5,947	..	..
	Ecclesiastical ..	1815-59 (a).	11,569	..	..
Commerce ..	Railways ..	1850-59 (a).	16,772	..	..
	Emigration ..	1835-59 (a).	107	..	..
Industries and Labour.	Post Office ..	1855-59 (a).	1,033	..	..
	Public Works and Electric Tele- graphs.	1850-59 (a).	52,443	..	..
	Army ..	1786-1859(a)	2,91,498	..	..
	Up-Country (b) ..	1837-59 ..	35,000	..	..
Army ..	Marine ..	1838-59 (a).	9,994	..	..
	Estate Papers ..	1826-59 ..	50,000	..	..
	Quarter Master General. (c)	1841-59 ..	38,415	..	8,000	
	Select Committee ..	1762-74 ..	31	..	..
Foreign and Political.	Secret ..	..	..	1764-1859	1,25,000	
	Secret and Separate Foreign ..	..	..	1773-1811	4,000	
	Political ..	1790-1832	1,42,569	1833-59 ..	2,27,431	
	Secret Department of Inspection.	..	..	1770-87 ..	200	
Finance ..	Finance ..	..	..	1790-1859	95,000	
	..	..	..	1777-1854	29,500	

(a) Letters received and issued by the Governor-General while on tour.

(b) Records of 1858 and 1859 were weeded by the departmental weeders.

(c) 66 bundles remain to be done.

APPENDIX D.

I.—Summaries of the Reports of Research Work done by Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission during the years 1931-37.

1. Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Rajahmundry.

Published the following papers in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Society:—(1) History of Padmanāyakas; (2) Two new copper-plate inscriptions of Vijayāditya I, (Eastern Chālukyan King); (3) Bapatla Kaifiyat; (4) Andhra Coins (with plates); (5) Gautamiputra Śātakarnī; (6) Scope of Anthropological Researches in the Agency Division—The Yanadis; (7) the History of the Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga; (8) The Kalinga-Ganga and Kadamba Coins—(Vol. V); (9) The Pulumbur Plates of Vishṇu-Kundin Mādhava-Varma; (10) the History of the Eastern Gangas: Early Kings; (11) The Kākatiya Conference—(Vol. VI); (12) The History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga; (13) Sambopakhyanam and its historical importance; (14) Recent Archaeological finds at Rajahmundry—(Vol. VII); (15) Two new copper-plate inscriptions of Vijayāditya VII of Eastern Chalukyan Dynasty—(Vol. IX), and (16) Correspondence between the Hon'ble the East India Co. and Kandregula family of Rajahmundry in the 18th century—(Vol. X).

Read the following papers at the different sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference:—(1) Gauga Era; (2) Yanadis (Patna Session, December 1930); (3) The Sugalis; (4) The initial year of the little-known Eastern Ganga Era; (5) The administrative history of the reign of Anantavarma Choda Ganga (1076—1147); (6) Two copper-plate grants of Vijayāditya; (7) A new specimen of Kārtikeya (Baroda Session, December 1930); and (8) A brief history of the Eastern Kadambas of Kalinga (Mysore Session, December 1935).

Edited in 1930-31 a Telugu History of Kalinga, for the local A. H. R. Society. Lent valuable help in the revision of the chapter on Political History in Hemingway's District Gazetteer for East Godavari District in 1933-34 and also in the revision of the chapter on Political History of the Vizagapatam District Gazetteer in 1935. Is now occupied with the publication of the forthcoming English edition of his History of Kalinga.

2. Hakim Habibur Rahaman, Dacca.

Has completed the first volume of “ Salasa-i-Ghassala ” (A Literary History of Bengal) and is now engaged in preparing the second volume. The publication of the first volume has been taken up by the Anjuman-i-Tariqui-i-Urdū of Hyderabad, Deccan. In this volume the author has discussed the contributions of Bengal to Arabic, Persian and Urdu literatures with short notes on the authors. Has undertaken on behalf of the Dacca University the compilation of M24IRD

a History of Bengal with special reference to Islamic Culture and is also preparing an index of the exhibits (manuscripts and pictures) displayed at the different sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

3. Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.

Published an article entitled 'Jute in Early British Days', based on a study of the manuscript records in the India Office, London, and in the Bengal Secretariat.—(J. A. S. B. New Series, Volume XXVII, 1931, No. 1.)

4. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., Indore.

Has discovered several letters of historical value among his family papers. They date from *Circa* 1800 to 1818 and relate to that period of unrest in Indore which was brought to a happy termination by her successful negotiation of a treaty with the East India Company. The persons who figured most in the transaction were Vithal Mahadeo Kibe *alias* Talya Jog of Indore (who was Mr. Kibe's great grandfather) and General Sir John Malcolm who represented the Company. The letters are being arranged and classified with a view to publication

5. Lieut.-Colonel H. Bullock, Murree.

Published in 1930 his book entitled *Indian Cavalry Standards* (London), and brought his survey of the Standards and Colours, past and present, carried by the Indian forces, to completion by the publication, in 1931, of his *Indian Infantry Colours* (the Times Press, Bombay). His later research work has principally been concerned with the following subjects :—(1) The family and letters of Warren Hastings (*vide The Times Literary Supplement*, 14th December 1933, 6th September 1934, 22nd August 1935 and 27th June 1936 ; and *Bengal : Past and Present*, Volume LII, 1936, p. 3ff) ; (2) European Military adventurers in India. (Many papers thereon have been published in *Bengal : Past and Present*, 1930—37) ; (3) Christian monumental inscriptions in India. Some two thousand previously unpublished epitaphs were printed in *Bengal : Past and Present* up to 1937, of which many have also appeared in *Notes and Queries*—London. (Is also editing lists of European graves in the Persian Gulf for publication) ; (4) A History of the Army Commissariat in India up to 1914, the compilation of which has been undertaken by him at the request of and with a view to publication by the Royal Indian Army Service Corps.

6. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Agra.

Published an article on three inscriptions of Humayun in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1933-34. Contributed an article on Siri, a city of Delhi founded by Alauddin Khilji, to the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1935-36. As Honorary Numismatist to the Government of the Punjab examined and classified 3,905 treasure trove coins discovered in that

Province. Came across certain Mughal Sanads and Farmans in the possession of a curio dealer of Delhi which at his instance were purchased by the Director General of Archaeology for exhibition in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Museum of Archaeology, Delhi Fort.

7. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Delhi.

Wrote the following :—(1) *The Nabobs—a study of English Social Life in India in the 18th century* (Oxford University Press, London, 1932. For this thesis the author was awarded the degree of Ph.D. by the Cambridge University); (2) *Studies of late Mughal Delhi* (to be published by the Punjab University Historical Society Journal); and (3) *Delhi—an historical essay* (to be published by the Oxford University Press, Bombay).

8. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Madras.

Contributed the following papers :—(1) *Nawab Anwar-ud-din of Arcot* (Bombay Historical Congress, December 1931); (2) *The Pañchamahāśabda* (Baroda Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1933); (3) *The Diversion on Arcot (1751) : Its genesis.* (All-India Modern History Congress, Poona, 1935); (4) *The Kaval (watch) system in the Tamil Country* (Mysore Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1935); and (5) A paper on *The Services of Vijayanagar to the Tamil Country* (Historical Conference of the Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Celebrations at Hampi, 1936).

Delivered two lectures under the Sankara Parvathy Foundation of the Madras University (1935) on the *Extension of South Indian Culture into Indonesia.*

Has since 1931 been holding the position of Associate Editor of the Journal of Indian History (Madras) to which he has contributed the serial papers—Nos. X-XV on *The Historical Materials in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Courtier to Dupleix, 1736—61.* Edited in 1936 the Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume. Also edited, with introduction, notes, appendix, bibliography and index, Major Evans Bell's *The Empire in India : Letters written from Madras and other places.* (Messrs. C. A. Natesan & Co., Madras—1935). Prepared the Historical Sketch of Madras for the Municipal Corporation's *Official Handbook* (1933).

Contributed papers to :—(1) The Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri Memorial Number (I. H. Q.); (2) The Shri Atmanand Jain Commemoration Volume, Lahore (1936); (3) The Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Commemoration Volume (Madras, 1936); (4) The Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Shastri Commemoration Volume; (5) The Pandit Namasivaya Mudaliar Memorial Volume (Madras, 1937); and (6) The Karanthai Tamil Sangham Jubilee Celebration Volume, Tanjore (in the Press).

Also assisted in the preparation of a documented life of Murari Rao Ghorepade for the Sandur Durbar.

9. Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., Mayurbhanj State, Orissa.

Since 1930, he has kept himself in touch with all records relating to Orissa, especially those relating to the Mayurbhanj State (e.g., the English records of the British Government in India, the Dutch records of India, sanads and copper-plates, genealogical accounts in Oriya of various families in Orissa). In the examination of the records relating to Mayurbhanj, he has been working in collaboration with Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda. Was deputed in 1934 to England by the Mayurbhanj Durbar to search records relating to that State at the India Office. Has discovered a good collection of historical documents in the possession of Mahanta Nandnandananda Deva Goswami of Gopiballavpur in Midnapore and has also examined a few documents in the possession of Mahanta Maharaj of Emar Nath at Puri through the kind help of Raja R. C. Dev of Puri.

10. Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., Sussex.

Has since 1930 contributed the following articles to *Bengal : Past and Present* :—

1931.—(1) Patna Massacre of 1763 ; (2) Note on ‘Up the Country’ ; (3) A famous Calcutta Firm ; (4) Indian Medical Service ; (5) Colonel Alexander Dow and his nephew ; (6) Indian Civil Service ; (7) Letter from Warren Hastings to George Bogle ; (8) The Daniels in India ; and (9) British Artists in India.

1932.—(1) Ghats at Benares ; (2) A link with Old Calcutta ; (3) The Nawabs and Kings of Oudh ; (4) The Company’s Vendu Master (written in collaboration with the Rev. W. K. Firminger) ; (5) Prebendary H. B. Hyde ; (6) Frederick Christian Lewis ; (7) An 18th century subaltern in India ; (8) Robert Farquhar ; and (9) Warren Hastings’ favourite portrait.

1933.—(1) A group of Bengal officers ; (2) Old Dalhousie Square ; (3) The George Lyell Collection ; (4) Three Sea-Captains ; (5) ‘Hindoo’ Stuart ; (6) ‘The late Sydney C. Grier’ ; (7) The Story of Stuart & Co. ; and (8) A Begum in Sussex—the strange story of De Boigne’s Indian wife.

1934.—(1) Military Engineers in India ; (2) A new portrait of Warren Hastings ; (3) Robert Home ; (4) Calcutta in 1813 ; and (5) Portraits of Warren Hastings.

1935.—(1) Mr. Barwell of Stansted Park ; (2) Jean Pierre Muller ; and (3) The late Father Hosten, S. J.

1936.—(1) An unpublished letter of Lord Clive ; (2) Sardhana pictures at Government House, Allahabad ; (3) Government House, Calcutta, an official history ; and (4) Unpublished letters of Lord Clive.

1937.—A forgotten sea-fight in the ‘Bengal River’.

11. Sir William Foster, C.I.E., England.

Published the following :—(1) British Artists in India, 1760—1820 (Issued by the Walpole Society in 1931) ; (2) England's quest af Eastern Trade. (Published by A. & C. Black in 1933) ; and (3) The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612—14. (Issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1934.)

12. Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, M.A., Lahore.

Is occupied with the preparation of his thesis for Ph.D. entitled " History of the Punjab under the East India Company, 1849—58 ". As a preliminary to his work, Mr. Sadullah has collected about ten thousand pages from the manuscript records in the Punjab Record Office and has also secured copies of the missing records relating to the period from the India Office. The work, when completed, will be published by the Punjab Record Office as a monograph.

13. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Madras.

Has been studying the memoirs of Francois Martin (French) with a view to writing a memoir on his life and times. He has also on hand an edition of two grants from Tanjore rulers to the Dutch belonging to the seventeenth century and relating to Negapatam and some other coastal towns.

14. Lala Ram Chand Manchanda, Advocate, Lahore.

Discovered the site of the Lohar (Lahore) of the Hindus at a place which is now occupied by an extensive graveyard called Miani Sahib and lies to the south of the Lohari gate. Two stone sculptures of unique value which were found here have been deposited in the Central Museum, Lahore.

Visited many mounds in the Punjab including the mound of Kala Shah Kaku representing the sites of some ancient cities in ruins not mentioned in any historical work. Four potsherds collected from these sites and nitched in the Central Museum, Lahore, attracted the attention of Dr. C. L. Fabri, Ph.D., D.Litt., Officer on Special Duty, Central Museum, Lahore, and formed the subject of his learned article on " Stone-age city near Lahore " (Civil and Military Gazette, June 18, 1937).

Has furnished an interesting etymological explanation of the word ' Salamar ' as it is used in the expression ' Shalamar Gardens of the Mughals '.

15. Mr. G. H. Luce, M.A., I.E.S., Rangoon.

Is occupied mainly with the preparation of *collotype fascimiles* of the *Inscriptions of Burma* and the progress already achieved in the work is remarkable. The work of collection and arrangement has been brought to its completion in collaboration with Principal Pe Maung Tin and Portfolio I of the series containing 109 plates has been published by the Oxford University Press (1933), Portfolios II and III (terminating at Plate 345 in the series) are also ready and are expected to be issued shortly. The heavy cost of publication is being

borne by the Rangoon University. The letter-press of the series is in English and Burmese. The work has been arranged chronologically as far as possible. Thinks that the three portfolios will include all the lithic inscriptions of Burma hitherto discovered down to 1300 A.D., with certain exceptions specified in the Preface to the Portfolio II. The work is modelled on Finot's classical work *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, but the plates are larger and the arrangement chronological.

Mr. Luce has also obtained for his library copies of some interesting *Ameindaws* or Royal Orders from a private collection of manuscripts at or near Monywe, Shwebo District. The oldest of them purports to go back to the first half of the 17th century. He proposes to visit the place with a view to obtain, if possible, further historical materials from the Shwebo collection.

He has discovered a pretty old inscription at Kengtung, Southern Shan States. He is inclined to characterise the script as Laotian rather than Siamese. He has sent copies of the inscription to the Superintendent of Archaeology, Burma, and has also referred the matter to Prof. Coedès, the Director of the Ecole Francaise d' Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, who is the leading authority on Thai epigraphy.

16. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Lucknow.

Published the following works :—(1) Select Ancient Indian Inscriptions and Coins (in collaboration with two other writers). [Published by the U. P. Government, 1936] ; and (2) Hindu Civilisation [Longmans, Green & Co., 1936].

Also published the following articles :—(1) Ancient Indian Education as described in the Smritis (Malaviya Commemoration Volume, 1932) ; (2) Asokan Chronology (Patna Oriental Conference, 1933) ; (3) Some Problems of early Maurya History and Chronology and (4) Yakshas of Bharut (Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, 1933) ; (5) Indus Civilisation and (6) Democratic Procedure in Ancient India (J. U. P. H. S., 1934) ; (7) Buddhist Education from the Jatakas (J. U. P. H. S., 1935) ; (8) An Asokan Inscription reconsidered (Indian Culture, 1934) ; (9) The Hindu Conception of the Motherland (I. C., 1935) ; (10-11) Two articles on Asoka's Religious Policy ; and (12) A glimpse into early Indian Civilisation. (Aryan Path, 1935).

N.B.—Dr. Mookerji has also been editing the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society under the patronage of the Government of the United Provinces.

17. Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Vizianagram.

Published the following articles in the *Hindu* :—(1) History of Tanjore Nayak Kings (October 1932) ; (2) Life and times of Aliya Rama Raya of

Vijayanagar (March 1933) ; (3) Kashtriya Kulagotra Prakasikai (July 1933) ; (4) Timpatti Devasthanam inscriptions (August 1933) ; (5) Turkish Democracy (August 1933) ; (6) Vijayanagar : Origin of the City and the Empire (May 1934) ; and (7) Kakati Budradeva's thousand-pillared temple inscription at Hanumakonda (June 1934).

Was responsible also for the following original papers :—(1) Parvata (J. A. H. R. S.) ; (2) Date of Rajaraja (Oriental Conference, 1935) ; (3) Brahmin rule in Andhradesa (Dr. S. K. Aiyengar Commemoration Volume) ; and (4) Buddhist remains at Ramatirtha and Ramireddipalle (V. S. Magazine, Vizianagram).

Published a book entitled "Buddhist Remains in Andhra and Andhra History", 225-610 A.D. (Andhra University Series, No. III, Waltair, 1932.)

Has been carrying on further researches with a view to revising his thesis for Ph.D. on the Eastern Chalukyas, and his book entitled "The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore" (first published in 1928). Proposes to compile an authentic account of "The Relations between the Vijayanagar Dynasty and the East India Company".

18. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph D., Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca.

The following is a list of his original works :—

I. Books :—(1) Corporate Life in Ancient India—First Edition, 1919 ; Second Edition, 1922 ; (2) Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilisation, 1927 ; (3) Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East. Vol. I, Champa 1927, Vol. II, Suvarnadvipa, 1936 ; (4) The Gurjara Pratiharas (Reprinted from the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta) ; (5) Early History of Bengal (Published as a Bulletin of the Dacca University) ; and (6) Arab Invasions of India (Published originally as Dacca University Supplement in the Journal of Indian History, and separately printed).

II. Articles :—(In *J. A. S. B.*)—(1) The date of Chashtana (1914) ; (2) The colophones of four ancient Sanskrit Manuscripts (1920) ; (3) Pala Chronology (1921) ; (4) The Chronology of the Sena Kings (1921) ; (5) The Successors of Kumaragupta I (1921) ; (6) The dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stupas at Sanchi (1922) ; and (7) The date of the Khadga dynasty (1923).

(In *Indian Antiquary*)—(1) The date of Kanishka (1917) ; (2) The revised chronology of the Gupta Emperors (1918) ; (3) Note on the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela (1918) ; (4) Second Note on the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela (1919) ; and (5) The alleged Saisunaka Statues in the Indian Museum (1919).

(In *Epigraphia Indica*)—(1) Two copper-plate grants from Indore (Vol. XV) ; (2) Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Banks (Vol. XVIII) ; and (3) Gwalior Inscription of Bhoja (Vol. XVIII).

(In *J. B. O. R. S.*)—(1) The identity of Ketuman and the alleged Ketubhadra of the Kharavela Inscription (1920) ; (2) Inscription of the alleged Saisunaga Statues (1920) ; (3) Harshavardhana. a critical study (1933) ; (4) A Passage of Alberuni (1923) ; (5) Barain Temple Inscription (1923) ; and (6) Pala Chronology (1929).

(In *I. H. Q.*)—(1) Some observations on Pushyamitra and his Empire (1925) : (2) Extent of Harshavardhana's Empire (1929) ; (3) King Nanya of Mithila (1931) ; (4) Nalanda Inscription of Yasovarman (1931, 1932) ; (5) Vainyagupta Dvadasaditya (1933) ; (6) Literary reference to Samudragupta (1933) ; and (7) The Kingdom of Kira (1933).

(In *Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference.*)—(1) The early history of the Gurjaras (Vol. I) ; (2) The Origin of the Sena Kings (Vol. II) ; (3) The Identity of Suktiman Mountains (Vol. II) ; and (4) The Ancient Indian Colonisation (Vol. III).

(In *Journal of Indian History.*)—Chosroes II and Pulakesi (1925).

(*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise de-Extreme Orient.*)—(1) La Paleo-graphic des Inscriptions du Champa, Vol. XXXII (1932) ; and (2) Les Rois Sailendra de Suvarnadvipa, Vol. XXXIII (1931).

(In *Journal of the Greater India Society.*)—(1) The Sailendra Empire (Vol. I, No. 1) ; (2) The struggle between the Sailendras and the Cholas (Vol. I, No. 2) ; (3) The Decline and Fall of the Sailendra Empire (Vol. II, No. 1) ; and (4) The Malays (Vol. III, No. 1).

(In *Indian Culture.*)—Indo-Javanese Literature (Vol. I).

(In *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.*)—Origin of the Art of Srivijaya (1935).

(In *Calcutta Review.*)—Hindu Society in Java and Bali (1935).

Dacca University Studies.—The Revolt of Divvoka against Mahipala II and other Revolts in Bengal (Vol. I).

Buddhist Council (Chapter II of 'Buddhist Studies' edited by Dr. B. C. Law—Calcutta, 1931). The Chronology of the Satavahanas (Sir Asutosh Memorial, Volume I, 1928). Adversaries of Sultan Mahmud Pathak Commemoration Volume, 1935). Sena Kings of Nepal (Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission). Spirit of Adventure in Ancient India (Sir P. C. Roy Commemoration Volume). Hindu Law in Java and Bali (Aiyangar Commemoration Volume). Philosophico religious evolution in Ancient India (Ramkrishna Centenary Vol.).

19. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr.

Published the following works under the authority of the late Bihar and Orissa Government (1933) :— (1) A Handbook of the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Records, 1771-1859 ; and (2) A Handbook to the Historical Records

in the office of the Secretary to the Agent to the Governor-General, Eastern States and Political Agent at Sambalpur.

Also wrote the following articles :—

Bengal : Past and Present :—(1) Meria Sacrifice in Orissa (1931) ; (2) Suppression of Suttee in the Garhjat State of Orissa (1932) ; and (3) Suppression of Suttee in the Province of Cuttack (1933).

J. B. O. R. S. (1934) :—(1) European cemeteries at Balasore, being based on records in Balasore ; (2) On the conventional methods of Punishment and Disgrace in Folklore—(Ref. to a document in the Record Room of Saran addressed to Charles Boddam, Magistrate, Sarkar Saran) ; and (3) Unity between the Deity and the Devotee.

Calcutta Review, November, 1934 :—A note on the manufacture of salt (based on Cuttack records).

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1934) :—Social Life in Ancient India (based on Pali Sources).

Indian Antiquary.—(1) The Gaydur Festival and its Parallels (1931) ; (2) The Gaydur Festival (Association of pig with cattle and corn) 1932 ; and (3) Gaydur Festival (The cult of the Mother Goddess) 1932.

Man in India. (1) The Svastika ; and (2) Ahivatroga.

The following articles were submitted by him to the Editor, *Bengal : Past and Present*, in January 1935 :—(1) Santal insurrection in Chota Nagpur (based on materials procured by the author from the Hazaribagh Record Room) ; (2) Note on the Patron Goddess of Sura Kings of Bhulua (*re* : an article in B. P. P., July-September 1934, p. 18.) ; and (3) Note on Goldingunge.

20. Dr. Mohammad Nazim. M.A., Ph.D., Offg. Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, Patna.

Collected, edited and translated in 1934 the Persian and Arabic Inscriptions in the Districts of Ahmadnagar, Surat, Broach and Poona. These have been arranged chronologically according to districts each being annotated and prepared by an historical note. They are being published as a supplementary issue of the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*.

Collected in 1932 and 1933 the historical inscriptions of Bijapur. These have been published by the Government of India in the form of an archaeological memoir with an historical introduction dealing with the Adilshahi Kings. The author has pointed out the existence of an era called Shahur Sen which originated in the Tughluq period and was till the last century much in vogue in Maharashtra and has tried to determine its origin.

Has come across several private collections of Persian and Arabic MSS. at the following localities :—

(1) At Broach (in possession of Qazi Nuruddin Sahib, Jami Masjid). (2) At Ahmadabad (Bombay Presidency) in the library attached to the Dargah of

Pir Muhammad Shah. It contains a unique manuscript named Ghuryatuz-zijat by Al-Biruni being an Arabic translation of the Sanskrit Karanatilaka by Vijayananda, son of Jayananda of Benares. (3) At Ellichpur (Berar), in possession of the Qazi Sahib, Jami Musjid. One of the MSS. in this library contains copies of the news-letters which were despatched to various Courts from Lahore. (4) At Balapur, Akola District, Berar, in possession of Maulvi Imamat Islam Sahib.

21. Prof. S. V. Venkateswara, M.A., Department of Indian History, Presidency College, Madras.

The following is a list of research work done by him since 1931 :—(1) Indian Culture through the Ages, Vol. II (1932) : Public Life and Political Institutions, (Longmans) ; (2) Indus Valley Civilisation and the Art of Writing in Ancient India (Aryan Path, Bombay, Vol. III, pages 30—35 ; Vol. VII, pages 309—315 ; Vol. VIII, pages 359—363) ; (3) Proto-Indian Culture (Cultural Heritage of India—the Sri Ramkrishna Mutt, Calcutta, Vol. III, pages 38—63) ; (4) Evolution of the Indo-Persian Style in Architecture (Government Victoria College Magazine, Vol. II, No. 2, 1935) ; (5) The History of the Chera Kingdom (delivered in October 1937 as the Sankara Parvati Lectures in the Madras University) ; (6) Government Institutions in the Empire of Vijayanagar—A study from Inscriptions (The Vijayanagar Sexcentenary Supplementary of the 'Hindu'—1937) ; (7) Akbar's Forgotten Capital Fatehpur-Sikri (The Har-Bilas Sharda Commemoration Volume, 1937) : (8) Indian Paintings as documents for the reign of Akbar (Unpublished) ; and (9) Art and Aesthetics, being Vol. III of the author's ' Indian Culture ' series (nearly ready).

Has also discovered various unpublished MSS. relating to Mysore history in the 19th century and documents of historical importance in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore and has collected notes from these for historical purpose.

22. Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, Bangalore.

Has also discovered various unpublished MSS. relating to Mysore history view to compiling a new and authentic *History of Mysore, 1400-1835*. The first volume of this work has been published and the second volume is in the press. Has made a revision of the work entitled *Tombs and Monuments in Mysore* and examined a Mahratta Bakhirs recently discovered in the Mysore State. Published in 1933 a note on "Some Wellington Portraits in Mysore," which has been included in a guide book for the pictures in the Government House and Lalita Mahal in Mysore.

II.—Report on the study of Mackenzie Manuscripts of the Madras Oriental MSS. Library.

(By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.).

The Mackenzie MSS., their history.—Col. Colin Mackenzie who was the Surveyor-General under the East India Company made in the early years

of the nineteenth century a systematic attempt to collect information about the history and institutions of the peoples of the Eastern countries with whom he came into contact during his official career. The manuscripts which he collected consisted of literary works in several languages, mostly Indian, historical records comprising chronicles, inscriptions, kaifiyats of villages, survey maps, charts, English summaries and translations of works in Indian and non-Indian languages. The Sanskrit and Persian works as well as the records dealing with Java and some of the Eastern islands are kept at the India Office, London ; and the literary works as well as the other records in South Indian languages after undergoing many vicissitudes came to form the nucleus of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

Catalogues.—The whole of the Indian collection was catalogued by H. H. Wilson at the time of its purchase by the East India Company. About 1855 Rev. Taylor made a catalogue of the South Indian part of the collection and translated some works in it besides restoring several which had already shown a tendency to decay.

Most of the literary works of the collection consisting mostly of poems and kavyas in South Indian languages have been catalogued by the authorities of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and are otherwise well-known. The non-literary portion has also, no doubt, attracted attention. The first and last of these catalogues consist of mere lists of the names, and make no attempt even to indicate the nature of the contents of the records. Taylor's catalogue is very ill-arranged and antiquated in its method. All writers who have sought to use data drawn from these manuscripts have realised the unsatisfactory state in which they have been left so far.

In 1919 Prof. F. W. Thomas, then Librarian of the India Office, suggested the preparation of a fresh catalogue of these manuscripts on modern lines ; he was led to make this suggestion as the English translations in the Mackenzie manuscripts of the India Office were then being catalogued and the originals of some of these translations could not be traced in the extant catalogues of the collection. For reasons, which need not be detailed here, the University of Madras was not able to undertake this work till recently, and the actual work of examining these manuscripts with a view to describing their contents was started in July 1933. Attention is given in the first instance to manuscripts of definitely historical interest.

Classification.—The records are written in several languages, Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam, Mahratti, Hindi, Arabic and Persian. The bulk of them, however, are in Telugu as the surveyors whom Col. Mackenzie had employed to collect the ancient records were all nearly Telugus by birth. The records may be broadly classified under the following heads :—

(1) The original records obtained from the wreckage of the Vijayanagar Empire : These are a few in number ; they consist mostly of accounts, showing

the income and expenditure pertaining to certain departments of administration. They are written in kaditams, long strips of coarse black cloth prepared in a certain manner, with a soft slate pencil. The value of this class of records lies in the first-hand data they give for estimating revenue and economic conditions of the day.

(2) *Inscriptions*.—These form the most reliable source of South Indian history. The Mackenzie surveyors went systematically from village to village copying the inscriptions and collecting much other valuable information. Of course, the copies made by them were eye-copies, as the art of taking inked impressions was unknown at that time. Although the latter undoubtedly yield more reliable and satisfactory results, the copies prepared by the Mackenzie surveyors still serve a useful purpose, as several inscriptions which were then in existence are either completely lost or have suffered serious damage in the interval. Moreover, copies of inscriptions from certain areas, for instance the Hyderabad State, have a peculiar value ; they are the only copies now available ; and they constitute the only source of information about pre-Mussalman history of Deccan until such time when the Government of His Exalted Highness may be pleased to throw open the doors of its storehouse of antiquities. Although Col. Mackenzie's surveyors endeavoured to copy every inscription they came across they could not attain perfection. This has to be attributed to their limited knowledge of the script. They could not decipher the scripts belonging to a period earlier than 1000 A.D. The key to the early Telugu-Kannada script remained a mystery until Kavali Venkata Borraya discovered it a few years later and bequeathed it to posterity. The Mackenzie surveyors did not give up the task of copying the early inscriptions in despair. They sat before the stones and reproduced the symbols, as they found them, faithfully. These eye-copies are not perfect ; and they cannot be made the basis of any scientific investigation ; but they indicate the exact places where we have to look for them ; and as a good many of them still remain in their places, they can easily be re-discovered. In fact the indications given by these manuscripts on the location of valuable inscriptions have been most useful in getting good copies of these records in our time.

(3) *The Kaifiyats*.—Next in importance are the kaifiyats. They are of several kinds—(a) the kaifiyats of villages and districts, (b) the kaifiyats of communities, and (c) the kaifiyats of temples. The first and the last classes are based on kaviles, or the chronological accounts of villages and temples. As the kaviles are accounts kept by the village or temple accountants, one of whose duties was to record the important happenings in the history of the village or temple, as the case may be, they usually contain valuable historical material. A good deal of legendary matter has, it is true, crept into the kaifiyats, but the task of separating fact from fiction is not difficult. The kaifiyats of communities were prepared under the supervision of Mackenzie surveyors. They embody the communal tradition and impart valuable infor-

mation about the customs and habits of the communities as well as the trade in which they specialised.

(4) *The Diaries maintained by the Mackenzie surveyors.*—Copies of several inscriptions which they met with in remote places are incorporated in them. Their main interest, however, lies in the information which they impart about contemporary history. As they had to travel in the Deccan and other parts of South India during the Maharatta and the Pindari wars, their experiences were not always pleasant. Their diaries give much interesting information about the movements and the depredations of Pindari hordes and the efforts made by the British Government to chastise them and restore peace in the country.

The work on which we in Madras are engaged at present is not easy. Most of the manuscripts we have to deal with are in an advanced state of decay. Beside the damage done by the white ants, the paper on which the accounts are written has decayed to such an extent that it sometimes crumbles to dust at the slightest touch. The difficulty is, however, reduced to some extent by the copies made under the supervision of Messrs. C. P. Brown and Taylor. The usefulness of these copies is unfortunately marred by the large number of scribal errors. Nevertheless, they enable us to fill up the gaps in the original and understand passages which would be otherwise unintelligible.

The examination of the Telugu and Tamil manuscripts with which we commenced our study is not yet completed. Each work is summarised in detail into English in the first instance by a specially trained assistant from both the original and the copies, if such are available ; the summaries are then read and revised by me or the reader in the department to see that no material fact of any importance is left out in the summaries.

So far such summaries have been prepared of 44 volumes in Telugu and 24 in Tamil. We have still got 118 volumes in Telugu and 68 in Tamil and Malayalam besides the much smaller sections written in Kanarese, Marathi and so on.

Speaking generally, the value of the manuscripts increases as the narratives approach modern times especially the 17th and 18th centuries, the rest being more or less legendary. And we learn more that is worth knowing of the Telugu area than of the rest of the Madras Presidency. There are often matters of sociological interest treated in considerable detail.

I may add that Dr. Randle, the present Librarian of the India Office, has kindly furnished an advance copy of the forthcoming catalogue of the Mackenzie collection, General Part II, the preparation of which gave the occasion for Prof. Thomas' original suggestion and I propose to check the India Office translations with the originals wherever they can be traced with a view to giving cross-references to that catalogue.

APPENDIX E.

**Manuscripts relating to the Origin, Progress and Present State of the Pindaris
by Colonel James Tod (Gwalior, 1815) with an Introduction by A. F. M.
Abdul Ali.**

INTRODUCTION.*

The earliest mention of the name Pindari is to be found in the *Tarikh-i-Muhammad-Qutb-Shahi*. It appears now that when the Muslim Sultans of Golkonda and Bijapur found their way open to the country to the south of the Krishna after the disastrous battle of Rakshas Tagdi (better known to historians as Talikota) they employed a very large number of irregular cavalry for plundering the helpless villages and towns once belonging to the Empire of Vijayanagara. The constitution of these troops of irregular cavalry is very little known. They appear to have been composed entirely of free-lances, many of whom came from outside the Deccan or even India. The next mention of the term Pindari is to be found in the accounts of Aurangzeb's expedition into the Deccan. Jonathan Scott in his *Memoirs of Aurangzeb's Expedition into the Deccan* mentions the Pindaris as the auxiliaries of the Maratha plunderers. The term seems to have been applied originally to a sort of roving cavalry that accompanied all Indian armies in their expeditions, similar to the Cossacks in the old Russian armies.

It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the warlike spirit declined among the Marathas and they began to discipline their troops after the European fashion, that the Pindaris began to attract attention. The disciplined battalions of Monsieur de Bussy attracted the attention of the Marathas at the battle of Kukdi (21st November, 1751). They tried to seduce de Bussy from the service of Nizam Salabat Jang, but failed to do so. Then they disciplined their troops with the aid of two Muslim officers of de Bussy's battalions, Ibrahim Khan Gardi and Muzaffar Khan Gardi. The Gardis (from the French *guards* or *gardez*) were the only disciplined troops in the Peshwa's army, and the greater part of them were Muslims and Hindus from Northern and Central India. At this time the Maratha Silledar or Bargir had become very rare. Thirty-one years later, when the British won their great victories of Assaye and Laswari, and when Jaswant Rao Holkar lost the battles of Muttra, Deeg and Delhi, Hindustani sepoys under Maratha and Eurasian generals fought against their brethren who were trained by British officers. It is generally supposed that the Pindaris were used by the Marathas when these began to suffer from lack of funds, and that they were employed to extort money from the peasants of Deogadh, Chanda Chattisgadh and Gadha Mndla which they conquered between 1741 and 1781. This view, however, is inaccurate. When the first Maratha Empire was dismembered, the northern Maratha powers, such as the Scindia, Holkar and Bhonsle, were compelled to employ troops, both

*N.B.—By courtesy of the Editorial Board of "Islamic Culture".

regular and irregular, which contained very few Marathas. It is in Central India and the Central Provinces that the Pindari bands grew in size and power. The disciplined battalions of de Boigne and Perron or Dudrenee required regular as well as irregular cavalry. But the Maratha peasant had given up his predatory habits and settled down peacefully as a cultivator, therefore the great Maratha leaders of the North were compelled to employ Pindaris. Ruined husbandmen driven out of their homelands by warring factions, goaded by desperation, joined the Pindaris. They welcomed to their ranks all loose spirits, unemployed military adventurers and the riff-raff of India, irrespective of race, nationality or religion. By degrees, with the decline in the prestige of the Maratha power in India, the Pindaris became almost supreme. When the treachery of his European generals made Dawlat Rao Scindia a misanthrope on the eve of the great disaster of Assaye, he centred all his hopes and affections on the Pindaris. From the beginning of his career, Jaswant Rao Holkar relied entirely on Pindaris, and continued so even when he possessed a number of formidable disciplined battalions and a respectable park of artillery. The Pindari had thus taken the place in Indian armies caused vacant by the defection of the Maratha Bargir horse.

With the increase in their importance the Pindaris fixed their headquarters in Malva under the protection of the Scindia and the Holkar. From their strongholds in the Narbada valley their bands sallied with lightning speed, carrying fire and sword all over India—mostly British India. The corruption and weakness at the courts of Dawlat Rao Scindia and Tulsi Bai Holkar made them the real masters of Central India and the Central Provinces. Possessing none of the virtues which generally unite fighting men, the Pindaris destroyed and laid waste whatever parts of the continent they visited. Their special characteristic was that they received no pay but, on the other hand, purchased the privilege of plunder in the wake of the Maratha armies. They used to meet during the Dassera season, September—October, when the rivers became fordable once more at the end of the monsoon, to sally forth into British India in quest of plunder. In 1814, they were supposed to have numbered between 20,000 and 30,000 men. In one raid on the Coromandel Coast near Masulipatam, they carried off property worth a quarter of a million besides killing and torturing more than four thousand people. In 1817, the Marquis of Hastings obtained the consent of the East India Company to organise a campaign against them. This is known in history as the "Pindari War". The reason for their suppression was their rapacity and the havoc they caused in the rear of British armies in the Maratha War of 1803—05. They hovered like swarms of locusts on the flanks and rear of the British army. Sir Arthur Wellesley and Lord Lake suffered equally at their hands. It became impossible to convey provisions and ammunition, stragglers were cut off immediately, and the British regular cavalry could hardly see the Pindaris. In their tactics they followed the Bargir horse of Shivaji, Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadaw, who completed the discomfiture of the heavy Mughal cavalry at the

close of the seventeenth and in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. While the British army was fighting the regular Maratha army, the Pindaris destroyed British-Indian villages and districts and made the collection of revenue in war time absolutely impossible. In British interest it was clearly necessary that the Pindaris should be suppressed before the offensive was undertaken once more against the Maratha Confederacy. For this reason, more than anything else, the East India Company decided to crush the Pindaris. The great Maratha chiefs were invited to co-operate, but their co-operation was half-hearted and insincere, because they knew that with the destruction of the Pindaris they would lose their chief ally. In 1817, the Pindaris were surrounded on all sides by a great army of 120,000 men with three hundred guns, which converged upon them from Bengal Gujarat and the Deccan under the personal command of Lord Hastings. Driven from their fortresses on the Narbadda and hunted down wherever they showed themselves, they were totally crushed ; eventually their very name passed into oblivion.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

Note.—Professor Jarl Charpentier, Ph. D., Upsala, in a note in the August 1930 issue of the "Indian Antiquary" discusses the meaning of the term Pindari when he says : "Hemacandra *Anekārthaamgraha*, iii, 571 (ed. Zachariae), tells us as follows :—

.....*pindāro bhiksuke drume* I.

.....*mahisipālakē Kṣepe*..... II.

i.e., 'pindāra means a beggar, a certain tree (probably *Flacourtie supida*, Roxb.), a buffalo-herd and an opprobrious denomination.' The second meaning (a certain tree), of course, has got nothing to do with the others ; and though it is quite possible, it may be doubtful whether they have all been drawn from a common source. But there is scarcely any doubt that the most important meaning of the word, and that one upon which we have to fix our attention, is that of 'buffalo herd'. For the same Hemacandra in his *Desināmālā*, 6, 58, has preserved the gloss : *pendāro gopah/pendāro mahiśi-pāla iti Devardjah*, i.e., 'pendāra, means cowherd ; p. means buffalo-herd according to Devārāja'. This Devārāja is mentioned by Hemacandra as an authority on lexicography also in 6, 72, and 8, 17 and according to Bhuvanapāla he is the author of certain stanzas in *Hāla's Saptasati*. As a matter of fact our word occurs also in a verse preserved in one of the numerous versions of that anthology and bearing the number 731.

uvahāriśī samaam.

pindāre na kaham kūnantammi I.

navavahuśī sarosam

sawva ccia vacchaś mukka II.

"Look ! when the buffalo-herd starts talking with the maid, the young mistress of the house out of jealousy lets loose all the calves."

The commentary here seems to prefer the reading *pendāra* to the *pindāra* of the text, which certainly makes no great difference.

Considering these passages from different authors there can be no doubt at all that there exists a Prakrit word *pindāra*, *pendāra*—which, like innumerable others, has

Origin, Progress and Present State of the Pindarras.

• • • • •

PART I.

That grand barrier to the progress and power of Marhatta ambition in its earliest infancy, Aurangzebe being removed from a dominion which was held by him with absolute sway, the contention that arose amongst his successors, and a consequent divided authority, speedily paved the way to the attainment of that universal interest which they have since established.

During his life-time, under their enterprising leader, and it might be said founder, Sevajee, their conquests were limited, and though holding considerable possessions between the sea coast and the range of Ghauts, the dreaded power of Aurangzeb prevented their encroachments beyond them.

With his death the barrier was levelled and under Sahoojee the grandson and successor of Sevajee we find them, like the Goths of ancient times, sweeping and devastating with their numerous hordes the most feraile parts of Hindostan and Bengal. It was however reserved for the reign of that weak yet amiable prince of Mohammad Shah, in little more than half a century after Aurangzebe's death, for them to make terms to the Empire, by which they acquired the sovereignty of Malwah, and the tribute, or Chouth, of the gross revenues of its domains.

The great power obtained by Sevajee and added to under his successors was however, from the very means by which it was acquired, not destined to endure. A wide field was open for the enterprising and adventurous with which India always abounds who, so long as under the control of a chief of vigour and intellect, would by their united efforts add to his aggrandizement ; but a blind obedience to nominal authority from hordes thus assembled for the common purpose of acquiring wealth by plunder could never be expected, and we accordingly find when the grand spring which wound up their discordant materials and kept them in due subjection and subordination was relaxed, the different parts gradually separated, each moving in a sphere of its own.

Dominion, thus hastily acquired, where so many claims must have been to reward, and so much ambition to satisfy, required all the steady vigour of a Sevajee who obtained it for its preservation. No wonder then, on the first

found its way also into Sanskrit works—with the sense of ‘buffalo-herd’. In this connection it is certainly important to notice that the present-day Pindaris, of whom there seem to exist some 10,000 in all, are professionally ‘herdsman and tenders of buffaloes’.

appearance of imbecility amongst the successors, the many who had been instrumental in aggrandizing this power should wish to share in it. We accordingly find Ram Rajah, the son of Sahoo and great grandson of Sevajee, reduced to the condition of a prisoner, his States participated and the Government usurped by his own ministers. At this period, we find the ancestors of Sindiah and Holkar emerging from obscurity and aiding the power of Bajerow, but in a very short period perhaps less in the light of servants than as confidential chiefs. How soon they set aside and even opposed the Paishwa's authority and with what success, on the means by which both founded extensive States, particularly Sindiah, on the ruins of Mugal and Sattarah thrones, this is not the place to relate, which is merely introductory to the rise and progress of the Pindarras.

This now formidable body in the Politics of the Central States of India first came into notice at the period just mentioned (when the Peshwa usurped the Government) under the auspices of Ranoojee Sindiah and Mulhar Rao Holkar, and like them have become the cause of dread, and even of no inconsiderable degree of danger, to the powers they once served, but particularly to Sindiah. Although their ancestry can be carried back for several generations it is of no further use than to satisfy curiosity, or in the attempt to trace from their original menial employment the etymology of their designation Pindarra. This employ was that of Bildar ; whether in it affinity may not be discovered in their present appellation we shall not stop to enquire, or, which is more probable, a compound of the two Hindu words Paiend, a road, and the Verb, Aroo, to shut up ; leaving this to etymology we shall merely add that each horde is termed a dhurrah, a Hindee word meaning a collective body similar to the Persian word Pemmaiет, and proceed with their history, which is soon told. Pindarra is however now in general use to distinguish an unlicensed freebooter and synonymous with Khuzzak Grussiah, etc. In Suaibut 1690 (A. D. 1633) which must have been during the period that Shajee or Sahoojee, father of Seva, was paving the way for his son's future elevation to kingly power, Nursoo, a Mussulman of the Toolay or Tooraye tribe, was in the service as a Bildar and attached to the Jinsi or Park of Artillery.

After a long period of service he rose to be Jemadar of Bildars, and in this situation died, leaving a son named Chicknie, who succeeded his father as Jemadar, and in this post also died leaving a son, Guzeoo Deen Khan, who retained the employment. About this time Sahoo Rajah committed the administration of his affairs to the hands of the Pushwar or Minister, Bajerow, in whose army Gazeeo Deen was (some write it Geosoo Deen) shortly termed as a Bargeer, with some horsemen under him, and obtained the village of Sutpoorah in enaum in 1730. Bajerow was now successfully carrying on his schemes of conquest and having sent a large army under Mulhar Rao Holkar to Oojihn for the purpose of expelling the Royal army, a battle ensued in which Dya Bahadoor the king's Sobadar was killed and the country

annexed to Mahratta authority. Gazi accompanied this expedition and died at Oojihn leaving two sons :—

1. Gardi Khan.
2. Shabuz Khan.

The elder was with his father on his death and being at this time 16 years of age succeeded to the command of the few horse his father had, which were increased by Holkar, for the express purpose of plundering, laying waste the country and cutting off supplies. In this part Gardi Khan became so useful that Holkar in a short period honoured him with a Ziree or flag. This occupation which suited so exactly the inclination of the Mahrattas and licentious of all classes, of which the greater part of such an army must have been composed, and having the sanction of authority, speedily brought soldiers to flock to his standard, and Gardi's horde soon composed a larger but distinct part of the army.

1735. Bajee Row, having now subdued and settled the affairs of Malwah, at the instigation of the Rajah Sawaree Jey Sing of Jeypoor, prepared for an expedition into Hindostan. Accompanied by Mulhar Rao he proceeded by Sunganeer, which was plundered, through Namaul and Rewaree to Delhi. They arrived at the metropolis while the Melah or fair at Kalika Puhar (5 miles from Delhi) was holding. This they gutted and obtained immense plunder : having insulted the city and in derision of the Royal authority suspended a flag over the Bridge Baran Poola, they returned to Malwah. Gardi Khan accompanies Holkar in this expedition, and for the service rendered obtained in Jayheer the district of Canonge on the Nerbudda. He died at Oojihn.

He left a son called Loll Mahomed who had issue, Emambux. On the death of Gardi Khan, the different jemadars, or torahdars, composing his dhurrah, which is said to have amounted to the almost incredible number of 50,000 horse, separated themselves, each setting up as independent. Shahbauze Khan, the younger brother of Gardi remained at the place of his birth Meeragong near Poona, where, having arrived at mature years, he was taken into the service of Runoojee Sindiah as a Bargeer, and shortly after, having obtained the favour of this chieftain, he rose to the command of a body of horse, and followed him in company with Ramchunder Guneish and Tookoojee Holkar on an expedition into Hindostan, and was afterwards killed at Tonk, in the Jussane Country.

He left two sons—

- 1st. Heeroo,
- 2nd. Burrun,

who remained with Sindia commanding the party their father left, which gradually increased. They remained attached to the fortunes of the successor of their patron, the great Madojee Sindia, who bestowed on them in Jagheer the Pergunnah of Sutwas on the Nerbudda.

Heeroo died at Boorhanpore, Burrun in confinement at Nagpoor. The period of their deaths is not ascertained. They each left sons who now are in command of dhurrahs—

Heeroo's son Dost Mahommed,
Burrun's son Rajan Khan.

Although these lineal descendants of the Pindarra founder are at present chiefs of note amongst the hordes, they by no means possess the same power which others have attained since the defection of the torahdars of Gardi Khan's hordes. Dost Mahommed is, however, the strongest of those branches, and since the discomfiture of Kurreem Khan, the second in the scale of power amongst them, Rajun who still enjoys his Pergunnah of Sutwas is now attached to Sheetoo, with whose dhurrah his is incorporated, and their interests are at present strongly united.

Emambux, the third branch, we know little about, but he enjoys the rents of part of the Pergunnah of Nemawur in the Nerbudda which did at one time amount to a Lac of Rupees.

The Pindarras are divided into two classes, the Holkar Shahee and Sindia Shahee, *i.e.*, the followers of Holkar and Sindia, from the circumstance of their having been brought forward under the auspices of their respective families. The obedience they however once paid has long ceased to exist, and is now less than nominal. It is also very common for the torahdars to change from one party to another. It may not be uninteresting to relate the various fortunes of Kurreem Khan, who at one period had attained a degree of established power before unknown to those plundering unsettled hordes and not likely to be obtained a second time by any of them.

*Nuwaub Mookhtearul Dowlah, Kurreem Khan and Nawaub Serefraz-ul-Dowleh (now retained in the dungeon of Gwalior), Hubeebullah, commonly called Heeroo, are sons of two brothers. Their father Boodun Khan was a leader of a small party of Horse under Rana Khan Bahe and served under him at the Battle of Puniput, the signal overthrow of the Mahrattas, which may be said to have prevented their accession of sole dominion throughout Hindostan to which they were at one time rapidly approximating.

Kurreem has three sons—Shahawal Khan, Shumshere Khan, Shujawut Khan (all young I believe), Heeroo two sons, Namdar Khan, and Buksh Khan. At the period of his father's death Kurreem was 5 years old, and at the age of fourteen had 1,000 horse under his command, and attached himself to Holkar with whom he served thirteen years. He afterwards returned to Sindia, and was honoured with a title of Nawaub by this chief, and the grant of lands. The weakness of the Nagpore court has frequently proved the source of wealth to these freebooters; at what period Kurreem was there is uncertain, but he at various periods obtained large sums, and on his departure plundered the

^{*}(Corrupt) Karim Khan was supposed to be the son of Mahomed Daud.

country between the capital and Bhopal. In this last state he eventually settled and obtained from the ruler of it several small districts as the price of his abstaining from plunder in his country. In one of those newly acquired possessions he built the fort which he called after himself Kurreemghur.

Besides the gift of these lands he had other considerable advantages in Bhopal, particularly that of having it in his power to lodge his family and valuables in some of the strongholds (of which there are many in this state) while he was absent with his followers on any distant forage.

At the close of the Mahratta War with the British we find Kurreem possessing a pretty extensive, compact, fertile and well cultivated country, containing several strongholds well garrisoned, and the appearance of a regular system of authority for the attainment of which the times were peculiarly favourable. The country thus possessed was attained chiefly by force of arms from Sindia and the Jaghirs of Mahratta chiefs, during their abortive attempt to cope with the British arms.

Districts in Kurreem's possession in 1807—

Doraha—given by Sindia.

Bairseeah— from the Punwar Chief of Dhar.

Cheepanian	}	
Kurreem Chur		from Sindia and independent chiefs.
Beecheah	}	
Sechore		
Ashta	}	
Shujawulpore..		taken from the Jagheerdars of the Peeshawah
Itchawur		
Sarungpoor,	}	
Khokriah,		from Sindia and independent chiefs.
Suteaus,		

The whole producing about fifteen lacs of rupees annually and capable of great increase.

Besides the revenue arising from these lands, he had other sources of wealth, in the monies levied in the adjacent petty states to prevent his destructive incursions.

Shortly after the arrival of the British Resident in Sindia's camp, when this chief began to breathe after the severe but wholesome chastisement his presumption met with, and so deservedly merited, he ventured to look about him

for places that might afford pillage for the sustenance of himself and the wrecks of the instruments of his ill-planned ambition.

He who lately soared so high as to talk confidently of annihilating with his legions numerous as locusts the firm hands of Britain was now so humbled, so reduced, as to be obliged to have recourse to timely stratagem, and Mahratta circumvention for the purpose of effecting the subjugation of a more adventurous marauder. Kurreem was at this time busy in consolidating his little state, and adding to it from the possessions of the Grassiah Zemindaris with whom he was surrounded.

His want of an efficient artillery was an obstacle to the facility of his conquests, and as the inheritance of these lands of the soil was protected and defended by numerous forts chiefly indebted to nature for their strength his arms were greatly retarded. Sindia wished to resume his former influence over Kurreem, but the latter was confident of his ability to exist without a master, and knew too well what he had to expect from his past conduct to put any faith in Mahratta promises. Had he always kept this in mind he would still have occupied a very different situation from his present one. As it was not however good policy to exasperate sindia, and having a point at the same time to gain through his assistance, he made a show of submission by yielding to a summons which Sindia sent, and departed with about 3,000 chosen horse and joined the Mahratta camp in Ketchegfarrah. The point he wished to obtain was the assistance of the Maharajah for the reduction of fortress of Sakenburree* belonging to a Grassiah Chief, in his neighbourhood, which had long resisted all his attempts. The place he joined Sindiah was only three marches north of this fort, where the army had long been halted. Kurreem encamped about two miles from the army and was very circumspect and vigilant. A meeting took place between the parties, when the Pindarra leader prepared a Chabootra of a lac of rupees for the Maharaja's reception, which was presented as a Nuzzur. On this occasion he had the greater part of his troops with him, and shewed the most evident distrust when visits were proposed. Sindia readily gave in to his request to attack Sakenburree for him, for which the army marched, some of Kurreem's hordes mixing in the march with the Mahrattas. Every artifice was in the interim employed to lull his suspicions, and the Maharaja entered with apparent cordiality into his views.

On the very day of the arrival of the army before the place, and before it was encamped even, the batteries began to play on it, and in a few hours one of the bastions was breached, and towards the evening the village and every combustible building in the Fort were on fire, and the next day evacuated, Kurreem, thrown off his guard, was delighted with the acquisition and easily fell into the snare Marhatta cunning had prepared for him. He was induced to visit Sindia to receive the Khilut of Investiture, or keys of the fortress*, still

*(Sic.) Sitanbari near Beesiah (?)

with a great degree of suspicion, as he exacted solemn promises of security. He reached the Prince's camp with a much smaller retinue than usual, accompanied however at Sindia's desire by the greater part of his chiefs and relations. While the ceremonies on these occasions were going forward, on a sudden people who were stationed behind the screens rushed out, and before resistance could be made they were secured. A signal gun was fired to give the chiefs notice that the first part of the play was begun, and in an instant the several chiefs who had previous intimation of the plan were on horseback at the head of their respective retainers to surprise Kurreem's camp now deprived of their leader.

Sindia himself poised a lance on this occasion and was at one time nearly left alone, his troops being more intent on plunder than his safety. Nothing could have been better planned and the execution of the scheme was a stroke which the Mahrattas seldom display.

No great loss of lives took place, as a Pindarra requires no great preparation for fight or flight. The confusion in camp which extended to ours subsided not till evening, when the victors returned from the pursuit laden with spoils. The scene on this occasion which presented itself was novel, here a Mahratta driving a buffalo with his spear, on which was perched some unfortunate child, a second time made captive, there a footman groaning under a load of pots and pans, with a calf dragged unwillingly after him by a string, tied round his waist, retarding his progress to his hovel, "laden with wealth and honours dearly won," a third displaying at his lance's point the coloured turban now gaily streaming as a banner, while by the bridle led followed a courser lately bestridden by some bold marauder, and, last scene of all, the elephants, ruttis, palquees, and other emblems of state of the now fallen Kurreem. Immediately on the event detachments were sent to Sarangpoor, Shujawulpoor, Kurreemghur. The former† contained his valuables with which his mother escaped, and took refuge in the Kotah Country, and in the other places which were evacuated only stores of grain and things not easily moved were found. Shortly after this eventful period of Kurreem's history he was sent in company with Heeroo and others under a strong guard to Gwalior, in whose solitary dungeons he had plenty of time afforded for reflection on the infatuated conduct that made him the dupe of Marhatta treachery, which tumbled him from the height of prosperity to the gloom of a prison. In this situation "fallen from his high estate" he remained till the month of November 1810, when Sindiah's avarice overcoming his prudence this pest was again let loose to prey on society. For the sum of six lacs of rupees, the payment of which was guaranteed by that general arbitrator Zalim Singh of Kotah, Kurreem regained his liberty and very shortly a great part of his former consequence. As might have been expected Sindia was the first to feel

**Sic.*

†(Sic.) Malcolm says she was at Shujawalpur.

the efforts of his avaricious policy, which fixed the indignation, and most justly, of every independent state upon him. He affected to throw the blame of Kurreem's conduct after his enlargement on Zalim Sing, who he had the hardy falsehood to assert was responsible for his freebooter's behaviour as well as the sum stipulated for his ransom. Zalim's well-known established political sagacity renders such an assertion ridiculous, and is a very futile subterfuge at justification.

Previous to his release, Kureem was honoured with an interview ; a Khilut with elephants, horses, palquees, and all the insignia of a chief of the first rank were lavished on him to make him forget the severities and indignities practised on him during his captivity.

The grant of lands, in which was included the Boondela state of Gurrah Kottah and Bahadoor Gurb (neither of which were then in his possession, but which he intended to affix to his dominions and has since done) was given to Kurreem. By these acts he hoped to make him forget the past and keep him in his interests for the future. Shortly after his arrival at Kotah, to which place he was conducted by a battalion of Sindia's, and almost immediately after the payment of the price of his ransom, Kurreem departed for the seat of his former authority, and in a very short time after his reaching it all his old adherents and many others attracted by his name united round his standard. The lapse of a few weeks found him at the head of 15,000 men. Kurrumgurh, Ashta, Shajehanpoor soon yielded to his arms ; the Province of Bhilsah was overrun, and Oojihan itself was scarcely safe, to the gates of which his parties advanced plundering and devastating, and at one period held it in a state of temporary blockade. Sindia in his turn began to reflect on the effect of his avaricious policy ; his states overrun, the bitterest reproaches and complaints assailing him from all quarters, and the dread of still greater evil made him anxious to strain every nerve to quash a second time this formidable foe.

That he was eventually enabled to do so, he was indebted more to the dissensions amongst the freebooters themselves than to his own wisdom or the force of his arms. Kurreem assembled his followers in the hilly country north of and contiguous to the Nerbudda river and busied himself in raising battalions, casting guns, and every other preparation of formidable war. Here he was joined by Cheetoo the other great Pindarra Leader, whose forces were equal to his, and together they prepared plans for their future united aggressions. To either of the standards of those chiefs did all the Pindaras and licentious of every description resort, and it would by no means be an exaggeration of their united strength to say it consisted of 25,000 horse, and with several battalions and funs. The native accounts alone made Kurreem's force amount to this number, the above statement is lessening rather than exceeding the actual numbers. They only waited the closing of the rainy season to commence operations. What had Sindia not to dread from them ? For though Kurreem undoubtedly intended an irruption into the British dominions, he could not

expect long to remain without immediately feeling the effect of their united force. Kurreem wished however in the first instance to recruit his finances from the Nagpore country which has often yielded a rich harvest to the Pindarras and to him in particular, and only waited the falling of the river to make incursion. The degraded state into which this power has fallen since the Bhonslah's blind infatuation in adopting Sindiah's scheme in a joint prosecution of the war against the British made him an easy prey to every licentious marauder. Nothing could have saved his capital even, but the most prompt assistance of the power he had so lately been hostile to, but circumstances occurred which rendered the aid of a British force which would not have been withheld for the support of established legitimate authority threatened by lawless hordes for the time unnecessary. We may judge however what would have been his situation without this assistance had the whole of this marauding force made a descent, when a detachment only amounting nominally to 4,000 attacked and even forced the suburbs of the city, levied contributions, and were until their departure the source of the greatest consternation. Kurreem was thwarted in his schemes of a descent by Cheetoor, who held lands from the chief of Nagpore, and had lately received a large sum with greater promises to prevent the mediated invasion. This produced a coolness between the chiefs which ended in a separation of their forces, and determination on Cheetoo's part to resist by force any attempt of Kurreem's to cross the Nerbudda.

Sindia had been enabled to assemble as many battalions as could be collected, which were joined by others from Holkar, and a considerable body of horse, the whole under Juggoo Bappoo. They advanced against Shahjehanpore and drove out Kurreem's garrison, but their subsequent inactivity shewed they were evidently afraid to encounter Kurreem, nor was it until they were assured of Cheetoo's neutrality, and perhaps aid, that they ventured to advance. Kurreem was bold enough to march against them, but his newly raised battalions were not a match for the little of discipline that still remained in those of Sindia. Still the success would have been doubtful had not Cheetoo's preponderating force been thrown into his adversary's scale. For this Kurreem was not prepared ; though he did not hope for his aid, yet he was far from expecting it would be given to his enemies*.

The battle in consequence was of short duration, for even some of his own torahdars seeing how things went fled to Cheetoo. During the action Kurreem made his escape with some hundred horse. His battalions and guns retreated to the Fort of Munohur Thanah belonging to Kotali, near which the battle was fought, and in a few days surrendered. Thus was dissolved by the folly of the two chiefs one of the most alarming confederacies not only to Sindia but to every established government with which this part of India was ever threatened. Had the storm only fallen on Sindia no one would have pitied him. The means by which it was averted may one day prove a source of infinite trouble

*Battle of Omatwarra.

to him. "The snake is scotched not killed", these hordes are rather humbled than crushed, and it requires but the appearance of a chief of enterprize to head them and a few lucky circumstances to bring them forth in their former power and numbers.

Whether Kurreem is destined again to be this leader time will disclose. It is a circumstance by no means unlikely or the period probably far distant. To him we return. After his escape from the battle, though hard pushed in his flight he crossed the Chumbul and pursued his route to Meerkhan's camp in the Jussoor State, which he safely reached, though with but a slender retinue. He was received by the Pathan with great cordiality and the most generous hospitality, tents, equipage, money, nothing was spared which could conduce to his comfort, or cheer his spirits. What were the Pathan's intentions regarding him at this time are uncertain, though they had the appearance of being favourable to the discomfited chief. That they were frustrated is to be attributed to the strong representations and urgent demands of both the courts of Sindia and Holkar that he should be given up, representations or demands which he could not avoid complying with. Accordingly Meer Khan conducted the fallen Kurreem in person to Holkar's camp, to whose chief after the most solemn demands and assurances of personal safety and lenient treatment he was given up, and there he now remains in confinement, but by no means rigorous.

Sindia is very desirous of obtaining possession of him, but the great authority and interest Meer Khan possesses in this Court have hitherto prevented this, and will most likely continue to operate against a measure which would for ever shut up every avenue to Kurreem's enlargement.

Cheetoo who is since Kurreem's discomfiture the greatest amongst those lawless chiefs is of the Mewattie Tribe well known for their licentiousness, and was taken by Dowlut Khan, a chief of some note, in the great Heeroo's service ; he was his chilah, but afterwards was adopted as his son.

Dowlut was killed in Munduse, in an incursion into that Province. Cheetoo was indebted to Kurreem for his rise in life, having served first him. How he requited his master has been seen. For the great service he rendered Sindia in his timely co-operation with Jaggo Bappoo, the Punjab Mohuls of Aroun Shadvarah, etc.. assessed at 5 lacs of rupees were assigned to him, besides which in conjunction with Rajun Khan he has a share of the Purgunnah of Sutwas, which Sindia lately made an attempt to resume, but which they will not relinquish.

Their chief cantonment is at this place, from whence parties frequently issue to plunder the adjoining districts. They have also a grant of Cheepanan from the Bhoonslah, and Lielapoore from Vizier Mohummud of Bhopaul. Their united force consists of 1,000 Horse, two Battalions of Infantry, 700, and 12 guns.
Regarding the possession of the Punj Mohuls, the hints which Sindiah has thrown out to keep them in his interests they seem to care for very little, as

they lately gave nearly a negative on being ordered to co-operate with Jaggoor Bappoo in his aggression on the State of Bhopal. To suppose that it will prevent these hordes occasionally entering his districts is out of the question, they are now but lukewarm friends and may very shortly be his decided enemies.

Dost Mahomed, the next in name and consequence to Cheetoo, is (as was before stated) the son of Heeroo, the nominal head of the Sindiahsae Pindarras. For a long time he appeared to submit to Sindiah's authority, and had from this prince the Pergunnah of Bagrode, in which he has erected a fort. At that place and Gaispoor his dhurrah is chiefly cantoned, but for some time past has had detachments co-operating with Bhopaul, and in the neighbourhood of Rahtgur which place is occupied by a traitorous chief of Sindiah. His father who died at Boorhanpoor left the dhurrah to him and his brother Waussil Khan, a chief of note, and now conspicuous for his irruption into the Company's territories. (With the greater part of the spoils, a quantity of which found a sale at Sagur, he reached his dhurrah in safety. The hill people, it is said, eased them a part.)

Dost Mahomed has a grant of Baree which formerly belonged to Bhopaul from the Bhoonslah, and his power may have increased by the accession of some of Kurreem's followers. It consists of 10,000 horse, with some infantry and guns.

Namdar Khan, the son of Hubeeboollah or Heeroo, by which name he is better known, and nephew to Kurreem, escaped with Khooshial and Moota Kover, both chiefs of Kurreem's party, after the disastrous affair of Mounshur Thanah. They are now with their adherents which they have collected since that event in the neighbourhood of Bhopaul, whose chief they zealously assist. After their defeat they joined Doorjun Lal's party, the late Grassiah chief of Bahadoor Gurh, and in conjunction with him plundered Sindiah's districts, and even made a successful forage in the neighbourhood of his camp, carrying off from the Churraio (where the horse are grazing) about 800 horse, and killed and wounded a good number of the Mahrattas, and though pursued made their retreat good with their booty. They continued to pursue their course till they began to co-operate with Bhopaul.

Heeroo is still in confinement at Gwalior and appears daily to have a less chance of regaining his liberty. He is the son of Ibraheem Pindarra, younger brother of Boodun. The remains of Kurreem's party now consist of about 2,000 to 3,000 horse.

Kader Buksh is the son of Rauzun Khan, a leader of 500 horse, who died in confinement at Nagpoor. It was he who made the incursion into that country mentioned in Kurreem's history and his plundering parties are chiefly in that country, for which his present situation near the Fortress of Raiseen in Bhopaul is very favourable. He has grants of lands both from Sindiah and Holkar,

but pays little attention to either ; he has some villages in the Pergunnah of Nulkuan near the Caly Sind, north of Oojhn. His force amounts to 4,000 horse.

Khwajah Buksh is son of Rezan Khan Pindarrah, a leader of 300, who died 8 years ago, since which the son generally is in Sindiah's camp and attached to the Khasge. His force is not above 100 horse though nominally 200. Sindiah has given him in Jaghier some lands in Koorwyee Bhorasso in the Betwah River, amounting to about 25,000 rupees annually.

Fouzil Khan and Bhuken Khan were both of Kurreem's party. They have since joined the army under Juggoo Bappoo with about 200 adherents. Besides, these there are petty torahdars commanding small bodies, not of sufficient consequence to be distinctly mentioned. These are the principal of the Sindia Shaee Pindarras.

There are 22 torahdars of Holkarshee, some are mixed with the Sindiah-shaee's and incorporated with each other.

The names of 19 are as follows :—

Kadir Buksh.	Gunga Meah.
Saheb Khan and Tookao Khan.	Baba Chowdry.
Emaumbuksh.	Junglie.
Meah Khan.	Rajah Khan.
Bappoo Khan.	Doongah.
Nuseer Mohammad.	Ibraheem Khan.
Munnoo.	Chainneah.
Nuthoo.	Pantier.
Sirmust Khan.	Rumzani.

3 unknown.

Kauder Buksh is the son of Munnoo Khan who was prisoned in 93 by Doobul Khan. Kauder had formerly a grant of land from Holkar which was resumed. He is chiefly in his cantonment at Soonderse, his force consisting of 4,000 horse, some infantry and a few guns.

Sahib Khan and Bahadur Khan are sons of Himmut Khan, a chief of 600, killed at the battle of Assye. They have a joint grant of Rinoge and of Holkar's share of Nimawur, both on the Nerbudda River. Their force consists of 5,000 horse. Emambuksh has possession of Kotappoor and Hungong, both on the Nerbudda. These were granted to Meah Khan Pindarra, but Emambuksh has established his authority in both, and at Holkar's desire made over a few villages to Bappoo Khan, the son of Meah Khan. Emambuksh's horde consists of 2,000 horse.

Bappoo Khan above mentioned has 500. The other torahdars are in general incorporated with these dhurrahs in commanding small parties, which amount in the aggregate to 4,000 men.

ABSTRACT OF THE PINDARRAH FORCES.

Sindiah'sahe.

Namdar Khan's (Kurreem's)	..	..	..	2,000
Chetoo	..	..	..	10,000
Dost Mohummud	..	..	..	10,000
Kadir Buksh	..	..	..	4,000
Khwaaja Buksh	..	..	..	100
Fauzel Khan and Bhukun Khan	..	..	..	200

		Total horse	..	26,300

Holkarshaee.

Kader Buksh	..	..	..	4,000
Sahib Khan	{}	Brothers	..	5,000
Tooka Khan			..	2,000
Imambuksh	..	..	..	500
Bapoo Khan	..	..	..	4,000
Different Torahdars	..	..	..	_____
		Total horse	..	42,800 (Sic),

(Exclusive of infantry, guns, etc.)

This is greatly under-rating the aggregate force according to native accounts, and I have no doubt within four or five thousand of this statement their united strength may reach, but the difficulty of acquiring correct information on this point is insuperable.

Sindiah's unjust and unprovoked hostility to Bhopaul, which must fall a sacrifice to his rapacity, will keep the Pindarras in that neighbourhood until that event is decided. What precise course they will then pursue it would be hazardous to pass an opinion on, although conjectures might eventually prove correct. The Bhoonslah taking advantage of Sindiah's aggression against this state has sent a force under his General Saduk Alli to assist and participate in the spoils, and it is most probable this cold season will witness the downfall of the Nawaub, and the annexation of his territories to those of Sindiah, who has committed no act of aggression to excite the hostility of either of these powers. The friendly, uninterested and valuable assistance rendered General Goddard in his march to the Dukhan, and which drew on the Newab the resentment of old Sindiah, makes us lament that this small and hitherto independent principality should fall a prey to Mahratta avarice. The Nagpore

Rajah has already considerably curtailed his country within these few years, by possessing himself of the rich district of Baree S. E. of Bhopaul on the Nerbudda, but it is probable Vizier Mohummud would have soon been enabled to reconquer this tract, as he had successfully opposed their further encroachment. With the aid of the Pindarrah's his ruin may be protracted, but not prevented, for in addition to the large force under Juggoo Bappoo now before the capital, Jean Baptiste is ordered to march with his brigade, and as this personage has made his arrangements of the newly acquired state of Chanderee, little delay is likely to take place in his co-operation.

It is most likely, however, Boonslah will not profit by his nefarious unjust policy, for the Pindarras will scarcely forego the opportunity of attacking the forces under Saduck Ally, whom they have frequently defeated. Should they, Sindiah will not be likely to admit a sharer in the spoils, and it is scarcely to be doubted they will be at once the instruments of his success and their own disgrace. This may very well happen as we have seen without embroiling the courts in hostility. Mahratta politics cannot be judged by any known standard. The reduction of this dangerous and increasing power (the Pindarras) must be an object of infinite importance to every established state, but this important object can never be attained but by the British Government. It must be by a combination of interests and of arms, in which the British shall control and lead, that success can result, by an assumption of a directing influence over the states we are connected with, and making them coalesce for this salutary purpose. That the most of them would join heart and hand in a joint measure so conducive to their own happiness should not be doubted, but if willingly blind to their own interests we must not be so to ours, and that they are blended in some degree (as far as consists with the welfare of an exposed part of the frontier and the annihilation of this most formidable band) has of late been sufficiently proved.

The many rich districts the Pindarrah's now possess furnish them with the means of subsistence almost independent of their predatory acquirements, and the strongholds they contain, situated in a country well calculated by nature for defence, are points of rendezvous for their deposit, security, and mutual counsel for combined aggression.

It would therefore in the first instance be requisite to desire Sindiah and Holkar with the Bhoonslah to resume all grants of lands made to the marauders, but as they would undoubtedly not consent to relinquish them, to prepare by force of arms to dispossess them. Sindiah and Holkar could by their influence obtain the aid of Lalun Singh and other petty chiefs, all participating in their destructive forage, while the Boondila States of Jhansi and Teurie, acting conjointly under a British force, might make a united attack from the north and drive them from their strongholds on the Nerbudda. Shut up to the west by Holkar and Sindiah a flight across the river would present the only

chance of escape, and here they might be intercepted by the troops of the Nizam, Pushwah and Bhoonslah, aided and acting under a force from Poonah and Hyderabad. By a combination of this kind alone can we hope for the extirpation of these universal spoliators, and which humanity no less than interest demands.

(Sd.) J. TOD, (*Lieutenant*).

Camp Gwalior, October 1811.

* * * * * PART II. *

Contrary to all calculation and every expectation Bhopaul still exists and has nobly baffled all Sindiah's efforts to take it. After a siege of nearly 10 years during which several storms were made and gallantly repulsed, numerous sorties from the garrison (often successful), at one time reduced to 300 men, the Mahratta army broke up and retired on the 2nd of August, pursued by Vizier Mohammed's Force and the Pindarrah acting with him. Such an issue, such a complete defeat to the arms and avaricious views of ambition on a peaceful state, must be received with pleasure by every lover of humanity. Would his other projects had terminated in the like abortive manner ! The Chiefs of Sapoore, Chanderee and Bahadoor Ghur would not now be exiles from their dominions. The capitals of these places, though they made a tolerable resistance, were strong both by nature and are, with numerous garrisons. Bhopaul boasts of no other fortification than a common wall round the town, but having brave hearts to defend them, with a chief determined to support his dignity and power against lawless ambition, or resign them and life together. The history of this siege would afford many traits of heroism, and prove what deeds can be effected from the example of one unconquerable mind. For Vizier Mohammed had many difficulties to struggle with. To defend an extensive town with but few adherents against a large army provided with numerous artillery, want of supplies of every kind, both of money and provisions, the communications in a great degree cut off with the country from the numerous cavalry the Mahrattas had, and altogether the most inadequate means of defence. Frequently did the assailants mount the summit of the walls, and as often driven from them with loss, repeated defeat made them at one time turn the siege into a blockade. All their attempts were alike unavailing : nothing could subdue the Vizier's firmness of mind, who with the assistance of his Pindarry allies was enabled to have provisions conveyed into the place, and, in conjunction with them, made frequent attacks on the besiegers' batteries and camp. Sindiah's commander Juggoo Bappoo fell a victim to this situation ; shame attendant on defeat brought on disease, which it is said was terminated by poison administered or taken as medicine. Every month's delay protracted the chance even of taking it. The army had consumed the country and even became clamorous for their

arrears. The Pindarrah of Cheetoo acting with it, never hearty in the cause, though they acted bravely in the storming parties, began to tire of their confined operations and moved off to haunts more likely to produce profit, while the opponent hordes continued to straighten their situation, leaving them no alternative but breaking up the siege. This Bhalla Rao, brother and successor of the late commander, died on the 2nd August.

The army under Bhalla, having under him Rajah Dan Sing as exercising the military details, has suffered only disgrace in its subsequent operations of marches and countermarches in the districts north of the Nerbudda and Omotwarrah, always closely pursued and harrassed by Kurreem's Pindarrah under Namdharn Khan, and barely able to protect their own camp not the country, which is devastated by the sword and flames in every direction. No very material change has occurred in the situation of the different leaders of hordes, since writing the first part of this, and the only one dead is Kader Buksh Sindiashae, formerly mentioned as occupying a cantonment at Raiseen in Bhopaul. This chief, who was killed, is succeeded by his son Deedar Buksh, who was cantoned long ago at Bhilsah, but quarrelling with Sindiah's Komasdars of that province has subsequently united his force to Namdharn Khan's. This party (Kureem's) has again greatly increased in strength and was of essential service to the Bhopaul Ruler in his difficulties. During the operation of the siege, they often entered Bhilsah laying waste and plundering the country. Kurreem's mother was lately at Bairseeah with a force stated at 8,000 followers. Kurreem himself is still in Holkar's camp and by no means even strictly guarded. His wants are amply supplied, and during a disturbance which lately occurred there he seems to have had sufficient opportunity to escape if he had wished so to do; most likely he expects to be enlarged through the means of Meer Khan now in Holkar's camp. This circumstances is not unlikely to happen, and possibly at an early period.

Dost Mohummud and his brother Wausil Khan are still at Bagrade and Gonspoor and in great amity with Appakandrow, who holds the fortress of Ruhtgurh, still setting Sindiah at defiance. In conjunction they are plundering all about. 5,000 of this Durrah are in Nagpore and had advanced as far as Ramteg, within a short distance of the capital. Cheetoo is in immense force at Hindia, on the south bank of the Neibudda, and has been joined by all the Holkarshaee Pindarrah almost, the Barrah Bhaes who own Sindiah's authority and Soota Ba Maniah, another of his chiefs and even connected by family ties with him. He was ordered to use his influence, which is great with these marauders, to limit their present system; this he has done by joining with them. Deedar with his horde and a party of Kureem's had also gone to the south of the river and it is said united with Cheetoo, with a view to share in the spoils from another attack on Candiesh. Altogether the force with Cheetoo and those encamped in the same neighbourhood is very great. In the late excursion towards Poonah, to which they advanced within no

great distance, they did great mischief particularly about Boorhanpoor, and gutted some places belonging to Sindiah particularly Jehandabad. As was conjectured in the first part of this tract, "the means by which it was averted may one day prove a source of infinite trouble to him," alluding to Cheetoo. This has been verified to the full extent ; when the evil will stop cannot be surmised, but certainly Sindiah has not the means to do so. Malwah is overrun, they have advanced to Oojehn, and Jeypoor a considerable place within ten miles of that capital has been plundered and fired. What was hinted at regarding the insufficiency of attempting to keep Cheetoo in the Maharajah's interests by the gift of the Punj Mahals has also proved perfectly correct. They were too confined for Cheetoo's ranging spirit ; he spurned at them, when he could only hold them by restraining his predatory habits, and they have again been taken possession of by Jean Baptiste, Sindiah's general. Thus his every leader of note is again making common war against him, or rather his states, but not against his only, but against every state that will afford a prospect of plunder. For to do these marauders justice they are above common prejudices, have no ridiculous partialities and reckon equally the prosperity of foe or friend. They are cantoning in numbers daily and will continue to do so, until they receive some signal check. So alluring is the prospect of loot that many of Sindiah's and some of Holkar's troops detached in distant parts have joined them. Where all are on a par nearly, as far as regards the honour or infamy attached to such a life, there never will be wanting abundance of adventures in the fields of plunder, until they learn from some severe example they are held the foes of mankind, of every state, of every civilized government.

Cheetoo's department is now the south, Dost Mahommud's the north, while Kureem's under Namdharn Khan seems to be alone occupied in inflicting as much injury on Sindiah's possessions as is in their power. Revenge has stimulated them, and they have enjoyed it in no small degree. Adjoined is a journal or diary of the proceedings of all the parties from the breaking up of the siege, which will be found generally descriptive, and add to the information. They are from Bhalle Bhao's or Dan Sing's head-quarters.

Dost Mahommud's party had lately in contemplation another incursion into some part of the British territories, probably diverted by the chance of great success in Nagpore.

August 2nd. Bhalla's army moved to Pundah, 10 miles from Bhopaul. Vizier Mahommud drove out the Mahratta Thannahs from the adjacent villages and established his own, Namdar's party harassing the retreat. Dan Sing wrote to Cheetoo, now at Nimawur, to join him.

August 11th. To this date moving about the Punj Mohals of Seehore, Ashta, etc., partly plundered the former and raised a contribution on the latter place (both belonging to Jagheerdars of the Pieshwah).

12th. Moved to Chanduee belonging to a Grassiah Zamindar ; Dan Sing left the camp and went *via* (?) Jareedah to Shujawulpore to raise money for his army. Kureem's Pindarrahs after harassing them to this turned about, part laying siege to Kurrumgurh, and others plundering Sindiah's territories.

22nd. Bhalla moved to Omutwarrah.

24th. Pindarrahs fired Kurrumgurh, but a reinforcement arriving from Dooraha attacked them in the night, and caused them considerable loss.

25th. Bhalla in the pergunnah of Telun, 5 coss from Shujawulpore. Namdar too possession of Kurrumgurh, and established several other Thannahs in Mahratta villages.

September 7th. Cheetoo and Holkarshaee Pindarrah united at Nimawur. Dost Mahammud and his Brother Wausil Khan united at Bagrode. Deedar Buksh (son of Kader) cantoned at Bhilsa, Namdar's horde in Zabout Kurrumgurh.

12th. Dan Sing moved to Shujawulpore.

17th. Moota Kover (chelah of Kureem's) with 500 horse crossed the Punbutty, attacked the camp, carried off the bullocks of the train, many camels, horses, etc. Dan Sing had a narrow escape ; they plundered several villages in the neighbourhood, and advanced and set fire to the suburbs of Shujawulpore in presence of Bhalla Bhaoo and his army.

29th. Accounts arrived that Wasil Khan was preparing for a forage with 5,000 horse for the British territories.

October 7th. Part of Sindiah's army defeated by Holkar, with the loss of guns, etc.

October 8th. Buksh Khan, of Kurreem's party, with 1,000 horse made an attack on the camp at Shujawulpore and succeeded in cutting off some foragers. The army now straitened for forage, and the dread of the Pindarrahs such that none will venture out, in consequence they are obliged to cut down the standing crops in the neighbourhood of the camp. Cheetoo written to for assistance, he remains quiet at Nimawur, sending parties occasionally to Nagpore. Dan Singh at last tried to surprise them by a night attack but effected nothing, and returned with the remains of what the Pindarrahs had left plunder.

October 13th. Deedar Buksh quarrelled with Komasdar of Bhilsah and joined Namdar's party in Bansiah. Dost Mahommud plundering about Seronje. Cheetoo still at Nimawur sending detachments to the south.

10th. Camp moved to Putchwar in Nursingurh. Pindarrahs continuing to harass them. Cheetoo's camp reinforced by the Barrah Bhaes, Gungajee Rokla, Putel Barakla, Sootaba Maniah, Dungoor Mundullie (the two first Chiefs of the Burrah Bhaes still at Nimawur).

20th. Bhalla moved to Bhindore in Sarangpoor Pergunnah. Namdar established his thannah at Shujawulpore.

21st. Bhalla's camp moved to Peranah.

22nd. Accounts arrived of Cheetoo with all his forces accompanied by the Bharrah Bhaes, etc., crossed the Nerbudda and encamped. Sent a large force to the Dukhan.

Namdar Khan demands two other Tuppas besides Rhokra and Shujawulpore of Nana Detchil, the Komasdars of Rajah Bhadoor, Jagheerdar of Shujawulpore.

25th. Bhalla's army at Sarangpoor. Cheetoo's force increasing. Guzerat given out as the point his detachment is moving to. Dost Mahammed at Gurspoor.

27th and 28th. Bhalla in Pergunnah Soonkutch belonging to his master.

November 1st. Camp moved to Pergunnah Ashta, plundering several of Cheetoo's villages which lay in their route.

4th. At a conversation Bhallat Bhaos observed to Madoo Rao, one of the Komasdars of the Punj Mohals, that the excess of the Pindarrah has become so great of late that the Maharajah was determined effectually to put a stop to them, to which the other remarked, "this can only be done by the Angreze Buhadoors, and then only would Malwah emerge from its present desolation".

7th. Bhalla's camp moved to Irnia in Son-Kutch. Namdar's Pindarrah hovering about cutting off supplies, forages, and sometimes skirmishing with the camp.

10th. Camp at Sooria. Accounts arrived of Cheetoo's detached force with the Barrah Bhae, which went on the expedition towards Poonah, having returned laden with spoils to his cantonment at Hindia, south bank of the river.

11th. Bhalla moved to Pergunnah Dewas.

12th. To Kurjooriah. Accounts received of Seetaba Maniah joining Cheetoo.

14th. Accounts received of a force from Poonah following the Pindarrah detachment who plundered that neighbourhood. Cheetoo blocking up the Ghauts and preparing for defence.

16th. Bhalla moved to Mhadpoor in Holkar's territory. Deedar Buksh's horde and part of Namdar's crossed the Nerbudda.

19th. Camp Neepuniah in Holkar's State.

20th. On the Chunbull.

22nd. Cheetoo's followers laid waste the Pergunnah Nemewar, Kurreem's plundering in every part and none to oppose them.

22nd. In Mundisure Soobah.

25th. Bhalla in Pergunnah Jeerun.

December 1st. Account arrived that Cheetoo with the Barrah Bhaes being still at Hindia in immense force, intent on another expedition towards Poonah, stimulated by the success of the last. Kureem's party in the Pergunnah of Shujawulpore, Sumbajee Imgria with a force watching them. Dost Mahommud in Begrode in correspondence with Appakundrow and plundering in conjunction the states around.

5th. Accounts received that Cheetoo and all the Chiefs assembled with him in league were on the best terms, preparing for their expedition.

6th. Accounts arrived of Fauzil Khan Holkarshae having plundered Neembaug and other places both belonging to Sindiah and Holkar. A letter arrived from Cheetoo to Dan Sing saying he would co-operate with him to drive out the Boonslah Thannahs from Baree, north of the Nerbudda, formerly belonging to Bhopaul.

8th. Dost Mahommud preparing for a distant expedition and some of his troops joined Cheetoo. Accounts arrived that Kurreem was so slightly guarded that he might make his escape whenever he chose, as he often went to hunt, that Zalim Sing was favourably inclined to the measure, but that at all events on the arrival of Meer Khan in Holkar's camp it would take place. Bhalla observed that as both the Peishwa and the Maharajah would be dissatisfied with such a proceeding it could not take place.

9th. Accounts arrived that Pieshwa's forces and some English battalions had marched from Poonah.

10th. Fauzil Khan plundering in Holkar's territories.

11th. Namdar Khan laying waste Sindiah's pergunnah of Son-Kutch.

13th. Accounts arrived that Namdar was increasing his horde daily and that many had joined him from Dost Mahommud's and Cheetoo's. Wausil Khan ready to set out on an expedition.

14th. A large Pindarrah force in Surangpore.

15th. Fresh accounts received of Kurreem's expected enlargements.

20th. Pindarrahs placed their Thanahs in Palai, belonging to the Mina Bai (Sindiah's mother) and plundering about Oojihn, Telun and Surangpore. Namdar Khan's party still increasing both in horse and foot and he has entertained 2,000 matchlocks and has 4 guns, and also meditating an excursion to the Dukhan.

Gadur a Grassiah chief of note has joined him with a large body of Grassiabs. A detachment of Cheetoo's at Ashta making demands on the Komas-

dar of Inchawur, his force still at Hindia Hirdah and accounts say will proceed immediately on another expedition.

The foregoing from the daily transactions in Bhalla Bhaoo's camp.

(Sd.) J. TOD.

Gwalior, December 31st, 1813.

PART III.

Outline of a Plan for reducing the Pindarrah.

In any plan for the subjugation of the Pindarrah hordes, the chief consideration is how to get at them, the rest would be comparatively simple. Both to effect this and prevent their subsequent dispersion, numerous columns would be required to march from different points gradually to concentrate upon them. The tracts of country which Sindia has recently settled upon them might lead to the idea they would most likely be inclined to defend them, and that in some of them they would make a stand. Had the first settlement made by Baptiste been ratified by Sindia, the principal hordes, Kureem's (or his nephew's Namdar Khan's) and Cheetoo's, might be considered as one body from the contiguity of their respective estates, but the final arrangement has not only separated these chiefs, but the different pergunnahs assigned to either are so apart from each other as naturally to lead to the conclusion that a similar distribution of their respective hordes will take place in portions according to the districts. The final arrangement has notwithstanding the want of continuity produced brought them more within the sphere of the third and now perhaps principal horde of Dost Muhammad. An inspection of the map will produce a more distinct knowledge of these remarks. It must not however be understood that the property they have thus acquired can make any deviation in their marauding principles or so far elevate their character as to induce them to fight for these possessions. On the contrary, it may be assumed that any plan which has for its object the restitution of their natural habits they must be averse to, and will, on the first feasible opportunity, render abortive. Experience has proved this in the case of Cheetoo who had the five Mohals of Arぶn, Shadomah, etc., settled on him, even more productive than his present assignment, but which he abandoned instantly when other views presented themselves. Indeed the inadequacy of the present assignments to the support of these extensive hordes, unless the leaders respectively should be inclined to reduce them to the extent of their possessions (to suppose which would be to expect them to quit their predatory habits), is the best proof that they can have to value in their eyes, and that they consider them as they actually are, but a kind of bribe for a little temporary quiet or convenience. These remarks are intended to produce the inference that it is not in these immediately acquired possessions in preference to any other tract they are more likely to be encountered.

It is necessary to consider, previous to offering any remarks on the precise nature or extent of operations against them, first, whether they are most likely to be directed to one point or several, whether the disposition of these hordes will call for but one grand and combined movement, or a series of minor and separate ones, in short whether the Pindarrahns are most likely to act separately or collectively.

Second. To describe the tracts which would most likely become the scene of action or pursuit, as also to which it would be advantageous to circumscribe operations, and this question will necessarily involve some geographical discussion which is the basis of all military operations.

On the first point it would be fair to infer that a sense of general danger would produce a combination of interests amongst these hordes. Those of Cheetoo and Namdar have been so much united of late that they may be looked on as one body, and though Dost Muhammed's policy has been entirely separate from either of them, his exposed situation in the open country bordering on Bhilsall would perhaps alone lead him to their haunts, and by a junction with them increase his own security.

The second point involves a general geographical discussion of the countries to which they might penetrate to avoid a practical pursuit, as well as a partial one, of the tracts to which it would be advisable to limit operations.

In that grand, extensive and continuous chain of mountains termed Vindhya, running nearly in the parallel of the Tropic, and which decides the course of the Nerbudda from its rise in one of its elevations to its final disembogument into the western sea, the Pindarrahns have for a long time past found security for the deposit of their families whilst absent on their destructive excursions, and for the fruits of them. This formidable chain, whose great elevation above the tracts north of it even to the plains of Hindustan is so completely marked by the course of the many rivers to which it gives rise, all pursuing a northerly course till their waters finally mingle with those of the Ganges, has few practicable ghauts in it from Gurrah Mundilla west to the Guzerat frontier, or Western Ghauts as they are there termed. The ascent from the north to this mountains tracts is not so rugged or steep, as is the descent towards the Nerbudda, and a fine fertile strip of country intervenes between it and the river throughout this space nearly, ranging from 2 to 20 miles in breadth, in which grain can be abundantly produced. Subordinate ridges are however scattered about even to the river, and jungles, in some places amounting to forests of large trees crown the whole range. The convenience of this tract to the operations of those banditti is too obvious to require comment. The facility with which they can from them visit our countries and those of our allies to the southward had been sufficiently felt ; and the anxiety they evinced in the late arrangements to regain these tracts by which they had profited in their co-operation in the disaffection of Jeswunt Rao Bhow, is the best proof of their value to them, and at the same time clearly evinces their future intentions.

I mentioned there were but few passes for guns over this range, and these were made practicable by the ancestors of Sindia and Holkar ; there are several minor ones for foot passengers, but the paper I sent you some time ago containing a list of all the ghauts on the Nerbudda with their corresponding ones in the mountains renders it unnecessary to dwell longer in this space.

I shall now describe the tracts which would limit their flight in pursuit to the westward.

Connected with the Vindhya Mountains, but too majestic and extensive to be called a branch of them, is the Arrabullie Chain which from its direction might be more properly termed a continuation of the " Indian Appenine," as Major Rennel styles the ghauts which run parallel to the Malabar coast throughout its extent. These are crossed about a geographical degree to the eastward of Baroda in the high road leading to Ooijhn, proceeding northwards through Dingerpoor and Bhanswallah towards Eden in which space they assume every variety of direction and appearance, until they reach the neighbourhood of the Meywar capital where they resume their wonted majesty. Oodissain itself is not however situated in this chief range, though the mountains which surround it are very grand, but passes it 30 miles west in its course from Eden where it first re-establishes its importance and proceeding in a uniform course to Ajmer, the line of direction from Eden being nearly north-east. This is the grant tableland of Meywar which nature has assigned as her western boundary, and a stronger one can scarcely exist.

From the low land of Meywar to this tableland there is a gradual ascent, until it becomes more abrupt ; during the last 6 miles, which may be said to mark the actual breadth of the chain, the descent to Meywar is more abrupt and steep. It is sufficient to mention the impracticability of this range from Comulmaun to Ajmer to serve what is required here.

The fortress of Commulmaun, now in Sindiah's hands, about 10 miles north-west of Oodipoor and at the western entrance of the chief pass*. It is emphatically termed *Nal* in the dialect of the country, a natural cleft in the mountain, though doubtless assisted by art. This is the chief communication between the two countries, and practicable for guns, as is that of Deayenh further north. In these Nals or natural excavations, which word is used in contradistinction to ghauts are passes in the mountain, they have invariably fortifications thrown across with guards, etc., for the collection of duties. The Comulmair Nal extends $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles, half the distance to Sindia, the other to Mannar, a gunnerah or fortress and head of a district at the western extremity formerly belonging to the Rhana but taken by Jupore. From Comulmair to Ajmer, a space of 130 miles, there are 8 more passes but of these one

**Durrah* has the same signification as *Nal*. Mokoorg Durrah, the pass of Mokoord in Kotah.

only is practicable for guns, and by any of them there is but little communication between the two countries on account of the barbarous race which inhabits the whole of this place, and even in that most frequented, the Comulmair one, strong guards are required to protect passengers and merchandise from this tribe of Mairs who not only have possession of the mountains but the tracts below on each side, termed Mairourrah. On the Mairwar side the chiefs whose lands are contiguous to these passes have guards to watch them, but they are of that nature to be defended by a few resolute men against an army. We may therefore be satisfied with allowing this to be the utmost possible range of Pindarrahhs to the westward.

From the space where the hills are crossed on the high road from Baroda to Oojihn to Oodipoor and Comulmair is one of the most mountainous regions in India where cavalry could not act, if they could or would be allowed to penetrate. The districts of Dingapoor, Bhanswallah, Salomhar,* Bheendie, etc., composing this tract are possessed by chiefs of the Oodipoor house, independent from the want of power of the Rhana ; their possessions are however not very prepossessing, and their subjects chiefly Bheels, apparently the aborigines of the country who have found a refuge and maintain their natural savage habits in these tremendous wilds. The whole of this space is intersected with numerous lofty ranges of hills, running in every direction, and numerous petty streams flowing into the Myhie River, and vast forests crown the whole. On the tops of these mountains the Bheels have their scattered habitations and would desire no better harvest than plundering a body of Pindarrahhs. It was but the other day they surrounded Ramdheen, Holkar's Soobah, who had ventured into Bhanswallah to raise contributions, and from which situation, after several days passed in terror and in imminent danger of being obliged to submit from famine, he was extricated by some battalions speedily sent from Indore in that neighbourhood.

To the eastward, it is unnecessary for me to make any remarks ; our knowledge of the southern parts of Boondelkund is now so well established and the chiefs who possess them from experience too well acquainted with our power to allow them any facility in these tracts—they may therefore be dismissed without further notice.

To the remaining quarter, the north, we must direct our attention. The districts occupied by Dost Mahommud in Bhilsah, etc., and part of those of the other chiefs such as Baiaseah, are in too open and favourable a country for the application of our means to permit the idea that the Pindarrahhs would remain there ; the same is applicable to the country directly to the north which would be favourable for our operations, and too near our western Boondella frontier and that of the petty States of Tearie, Jhansi, etc., under our protection for them to remain in that quarter either as a predatory measure of defence, or

*The two last not to be found in any map yet seen of that country.

in case of pursuit. To the westward and adjoining this space is the Kotah State ; in this, supposing it less difficult of access, they would meet with little quarter, and there is little doubt its ruler Zalim Sing would be happy to see them exterminated. The plundering of one of his principal towns, the only act of interior aggression which any power had ventured to make on him for years, he would be happy to revenge, and in the late contest against them while they acted with Jeswunt Rao, his battalions accompanied Baptiste and bore a principal share in the battle in which they were defeated near Ashta.

The part therefore to guard against their escape to the north is between the western extremity of the Kotah State* and the Arrabullie, supposing them to proceed from their present haunts by the mixt possessions of Sindia and Holkar in the eastern parts of, and in Meywar. It might be asked what would induce them to deviate so much out of the sphere of their general resort, but it might be contemplated as a last effort they would make a push for the open countries of Jeypore, etc., and, not impossible, proceed to a unity of interests with Meer Khan.

An inspection of my map, an outline of which I am very busy in preparing, will, I hope, render the greater part of these preliminary remarks clear, which otherwise might be obscure.

I shall now proceed to point out the tracts to which it would be advisable to limit operations, to the southern parts of which the Pindarrah would cling while there was a hope of salvation, as best suiting their purposes of defence, and from which in flight the preceding general discussion might be found of use. This sphere I would limit to Sagur and Bhopaul on the east, Oojhin and the pergunnah which connects it with Kotah to the west, Hurontee (*i.e.*, Kotah) and Rayoogurh to the north, to the southward the Nerbudda ; and from these extreme points the field in scope of operations would be gradually concentrated. The northern part of this line is bounded by a chain of mountains extending from Meywar and which nearly hems in the whole of the southern Kotah frontier, but at the south-east extremity diverging into subordinate ridges and leaving it accessible in that quarter. There are few ghats in this chain, and these of difficult access and sufficiently guarded to the southward of this line to another imaginary one running in the parallel of Srangpore and Bhilsah, and between both points the country may be described generally as a series of small hills or rather rocky hillocks with low jungle or brushwood, sometimes broken ridges of some elevation, and the low parts good, fertile soil, with numerous small streams which would, however, offer little obstruction to troops. The districts which occupy the space for this last line to the grand range of mountains first described (the Vindhya), that is, from Oojhn west to Bhopaul east, may be considered a pretty open and well cultivated tract (at least susceptible of high cultivation) with occasional broken

²² *It has the Chubul for its boundary in this quarter.

ridges diverging from the principal chain. The numerous rivers which have their source here, with the still more numerous hills which join them, are too near their source to offer any serious obstruction to troops in the season considered fit for military operations in India.

Having thus endeavoured to give a general description of the country which limit operations, as also that to which it would perhaps be practicable to confine them, I shall now venture to offer some general ideas as to their nature and mode of carrying them on, begging every excuse and candid exposition of whatever may appear at all to savour of presumption, and this both in respect to what I have already stated as to what may follow. With a view to prescribe operations to the tract mentioned it would be requested to take the field as nearly after the conclusion of the periodical rains as might be practicable with regard to the health of the troops and other causes connected with operations at this period. Should this be delayed till the falling of the Nerbudda the campaign might be indefinite. At Hushangabad the river becomes fordable at the end of November and at the other fords in proportion to the fall in declivity of the channel. On the supposition that the several armies at Jaffeerabad, Ellichpoor, and the Guzerat frontier are ready to move on the breaking up of the rains from their respective positions, also that a powerful force was ready to move from the Bundelcund frontier at the same time, I would suggest that simultaneous movement should be made to the following positions as a preliminary step.

The Guzerat force should move *up, and when within the vicinity of that district separate into two divisions, one to remain within 15 to 20 miles north of the city, the other to move direct upon Soormair, and there take up a position where they might be amply supplied by the Kotah ruler who farms the district.

The Jaffeerabad force would move at the same time and occupy the positions between Muhausan on the Nerbudda and Oojihin, while a similar movement would take place to the eastward. The Ellichpoor force after proceeding for Hushangababd and the ghauts, and leaving some resource (which might be of auxiliaries as best fitted for them) would move up to Bhopaul and Bairseah, at the same time that the army collected in the Bundelcund frontier would move off in two columns, one to occupy a position in advance at Seronje and to the southward of Ragoogurh, the other a spot central between it and the Guzerat Division at Soornair, which would be about Rajgurh Patur in Omawahanah. Thus a chain of positions, a few extending 35 miles from each other ; some less, would be established, rendering mutual conversation simple. A subordinate movement, but of the greatest importance to the success of the plan, would take place at the same time, of strong infantry detachments from both the corps at Jaffeerabad and Ellichpoor to take possession of the ghauts on

*Towards Oojihin.

the Nerbudda between Hushungabad and Muhausur, and to sink or destroy the boats of which there is no scarcity on this river. In this space, the ghauts of Murdaunpur, Cheepanair, Numawer (granted again to Cheetoo), Chorpath, only 5 coss south of Sutwas (also recovered by Cheetoo) that of Rampore belonging to a Grassia chief whose fort is on an island of the Nerbudda, would require to be particularly guarded. There are many smaller intermediate ones which it is unnecessary to specify. Pretty strong detachments of infantry with a couple or more field pieces to each, would, I should suppose, be sufficient for this. These might be supported by the auxiliaries of the Peshwa, and always keeping in mind that 5 Companies of steady infantry with a couple of field pieces would keep at bay an indefinite number of Pindarrahhs. The distance from Hushungabad to Muhaisen is not above 140 miles, and the detachments ought to be formed with aid specified so as to communicate with and support each other.

The different positions north of the river being taken up, while its ghauts were secured to prevent them crossing to the south and dividing the scene of action, future operations would of course be guided by circumstances, but admitting that these movements had been so timely made as not to alarm or drive them from that quarter, the consideration would then only be the manner of approach and attack.

By giving them a wide field at first you would bewilder them and lead them to form speculations in the enterprise which might induce to a partial degree of fancied security. Supposing them therefore at all events to remain in their haunts in the Vindhya range which in every point of view is the best adapted to their purpose whether for marauding or defence, the next movement would be the advance of the corps stationed to the northward as follows. That from Soornair would move on Shajianpoor, and the most western of the Poondelkund columns on Sarangpoor, while the other moved by Nursingurh to a position central between Sarangpoor and Kurreengurh, at which latter place the division of Baersiah would take up a new line, the eastern and western position standing fast during this partial movement.

This would bring the whole line of positions individually within 20 miles of each other, in the arc of a circle, of which the Nerbudda would be the chord and Satwas (about which the foe would concentrate) the centre from which the radii drawn to the different positions in the circumference would be nearly of equal length each about 70 miles. Circumstances might occur to defeat this plan which may be thought too minute and regular. I should hope, however, if not feasible in all its parts that it may afford some hints that may prove useful: To dwell longer on the subject having conducted you to the scene of action would be superfluous, as I said at setting out, "the only difficulty is to get at them".

As to the fame of the Pindarrahhs, their leader, etc., I beg to refer you to the memoir I forwarded to you containing an account of their "Origin and Progress". It would be found few changes of importance have happened

amongst them since that period. The use of auxiliaries, I mean northern ones, or the mode of obtaining them is a political question which it is unnecessary for me to meddle with, but some independent chiefs such as that of Kotah would, I doubt not, be happy to join in the extermination of a set of miscreants who have too long been allowed to pursue their indiscriminate system of pillage ; every peasant in that part would raise his hand in such a cause, and in the event of their discomfiture and dispersion many would revenge themselves for past injuries. It would be presumption on me to suggest a thing regarding equipment in such a campaign, but I may be pardoned merely saying everything should be as light as possible, and that the cavalry cannot be too lightly armed.

I shall here conclude this (having I fear, already said too much) by expressing my hope that something may be extracted from the general ideas thrown out ; when the outline of my large map reaches you, in which I am constantly engaged, many parts now perhaps obscure will be cleared up.

(Sd.) JAMES TOD.

Gwalior, July 9th, 1815.

APPENDIX F.

List of books containing inscriptions on tombs and monuments in Christian graveyards in India and Burma.

I.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

Indian Monumental Inscriptions :—

Vol. I.—List of inscriptions on tombs or monuments in Bengal possessing historical or archaeological interest. Edited by C. R. Wilson. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, India, Calcutta, 1896. Price Rs. 3.

Vol. II.—Parts I and II. A list of inscriptions on Christian tombs and monuments in the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Kashmir and Afghanistan possessing historical or archaeological interest, etc. Part I, by Milse Irving, I.C.S. Printed at the Punjab Government Press, Lahore, 1910. Price Rs. 3 or 4s. Ditto, Part II. (Biographical notices of military officers, etc., mentioned in the above inscriptions.) Compiled by G. W. der She-Philippe. Printed at the Punjab Government Press, Lahore, 1912. Price Rs. 5 or 6s. 8d.

Vol. III.—List of inscriptions on tombs or monuments in Madras possessing historical or archaeological interest. By J. J. Cotton, I.C.S. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1905. Price Rs. 4-12-0.

List of European tombs in the Anantapur District with inscriptions thereon. Printed at the Collectorate Press, Anantapur, 1904. Price Re. 1-8-0 or 2s. 3d.

List of European tombs in the North Arcot District with inscriptions thereon. Compiled by H. Le Fanu. Revised up to 1st January 1904. Printed at the North Arcot Collectorate Press, Chittoor, 1905. Price 12 as. or 1s.

Revised list of tombs of Europeans and Eurasians in the South Arcot District with inscriptions thereon. Printed at the Collectorate Press, Cuddalore, 1904. Price Re. 1-4-0 or 2s.

List of European tombs in the Bellary District with inscriptions thereon. Compiled by J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., and revised by H. R. Bardswell. Printed at the Collectorate Press, Bellary, 1901. Price 10 as. or 1s.

List of European tombs in the South Canara District with inscriptions thereon. Printed at the South Canara Collectorate Press, Mangalore, 1905.

List of European tombs in the Chingleput District with inscriptions thereon. Printed at the Chingleput Collectorate Press, Saidapet, 1900. Price 15 as.

List of European tombs in the Chingleput District, Supplement No. 1. Printed at the Chingleput Collectorate Press, Saidapet, 1904. Price 4 as. 6 p. or 6d.

Revised list of tombs of Europeans and Eurasians in the Cimbatore District.

List of European tombs in the Cuddapah District with inscriptions thereon. Compiled by B. Mcleod, M.A., I.C.S. Printed at the Collectorate Press, Cuddapah, 1904.

List of European and Eurasian tombs in the Ganjam District with inscriptions thereon. Compiled by C. J. Weir, I.C.S. Revised up to 31st March, 1906. Printed at the Ganjam Collectorate Press, Chatrapur (Ganjam), 1906. Price 8 as. or 9d.

List of European and Eurasian tombs in the cemeteries attached to the various churches in the Guntur District, Revised up to 1st December 1904. Printed by the Foreman, Collectorate Press, Guntur, 1904. Price 2 as. or 3d.

List of inscriptions on the European and Eurasian tombs in the Bandar and Bezwada divisions of the Kistna District. Printed at the Kistna Collectorate Press, Masulipatam, 1904. Price 6 as. or 8d.

List of European tombs in the Kurnool District with inscriptions thereon. Corrected up to 31st March 1904. Printed at the Collectorate Press, Kurnool, 1904. Price 1s. 3d.

MADRAS.

List of Burials at Madras. By the Rev. C. H. Malden, M.A., Garrison Chaplain. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras :—

<i>Vol. I.</i> —1680–1746	..	..	..	1903—Price Rs. 1-12-0.
<i>Vol. II.</i> —1749–1800	..	..	..	1903—Price Rs. 3-8-0.
<i>Vol. III.</i> —1801–50	..	..	..	1904—Price Rs. 4-4-0.
<i>Vol. IV.</i> —1851–1900	..	..	..	1905—Price Rs. 2-0-0.

List of statues, monuments and busts erected in Madras in honour of the distinguished servants of the State. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1898.

List of tombs and monuments of Europeans, etc., in the Madras District. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1898.

Revised list of tombs of Europeans and Americans in the Madura District with inscriptions thereon. Printed at the Collectorate Press, Madura, 1904. Price 12 as. or 1s. 3d.

List of European, etc., tombs in the Malabar District. Revised up to December 1905. Printed at the Collectorate Press, Calicut, 1907.

List of European tombs in the Nellore District with inscriptions thereon. Printed at the Nellore Collectorate Press, Nellore, 1904. Price 6 as. or 8d.

List of European tombs in the cemeteries attached to the various churches in the Nilgiri District. Revised up to 15th August 1904. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1905. Price Rs. 3-4-0 or 5s.

List of tombs of Europeans in the Salem District with inscriptions thereon. Printed by the Foreman District Press, Salem, 1904. Price Re. 1-2-0 or 1s. 8d.

List of European tombs in the Tanjore District. Compiled under the orders of the Collector of Tanjore. Printed at the Collectorate Press, Tanjore, 1899. Price 12 as.

List of European tombs in the Tinnevelly District with inscriptions thereon. Compiled under the orders of the Collector of Tinnevelly by Mr. D. T. Chadwick.

Printed at the Collectorate Press, Tinnevelly, 1902. Revised in 1904. Price Re. 1-8-0 or 2s. 3d.

List of European tombs in the Trichinopoly District with inscriptions thereon. Compiled by J. Andrews. Printed at the Collectorate Press, Trichinopoly, 1894. Price Rs. 2-0-0 or 3s.

List of European tombs in the Vizagapatam District with inscriptions thereon. Revised up to 1st May 1904. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1905.

BOMBAY.

List of selected inscriptions from the graveyards of European settlements in the Bombay Presidency previous to the year 1800. Compiled by the Public Works Department.

Revised list of tombs and monuments of historical and archaeological interest in Bombay and other parts of the Presidency. Printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1912. Price Re. 1-6-0 or 2s.

UNITED PROVINCES.

List of Christian tombs or Monuments of archaeological or historical interest and their inscriptions in the North West Province and Oudh. By A. Fuhrer. Allahabad, 1895.

Christian tombs and monuments in the United Provinces. By E. A. H. Blunt, I.C.S. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Allahabad, 1911. Price Rs. 2-8-0 or 3s. 9d.

List of Christian Tombs and Monuments of archaeological and historical interest and their inscriptions in charge of the Public Work Department United Provinces, Allahabad, 1913.

PUNJAB.

List of monuments of historical but not archaeological interest in the Punjab. Compiled by Charles Rodgers, 1890.

List of Christian tombs and monuments of archaeological and historical interest and their inscriptions in the Punjab, with an introduction by Sir Edward Maclagan. Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1906.

BIHAR.

List of old inscriptions in Christian burial grounds in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, Patna. Price Rs. 5.

A record of the inscriptions at the Catholic Church at Patna. By Rev. A. Gille. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, Patna, 1917: Price 8 as.

Inscriptions on Christian graves and memorial tablets in the Purnea District, Bihar and Orissa. By Rev. H. Hosten, S. J. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, Patna, 1920.

List of pre-Mutiny inscriptions in Christian burial grounds in the Patna District. By J. F. W. James, I.C.S., Patna, 1936. Price Rs. 2.

CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

List of inscriptions on tombs and monuments in the Central Provinces and Berar. By O. S. Crofton. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Central Provinces, 1932. Price Rs. 5.

ASSAM.

List of inscriptions on tombs and monuments in Assam. Compiled in the office of the Chief Commissioner of Assam. Printed and published by Conyngham Francis, Press Superintendent, Assam, at the Secretariat Printing Office, 1962.

ORISSA.

See under Bihar.

COORG.

Tombs with inscriptions thereon in Mercara cemetery, Coorg. Printed by the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, 1921. (Not for sale.)

CENTRAL INDIA.

List of Christian tombs and monuments in Rajputana and Central India. By O. S. Crofton. Printed by the Superintendent, Government of India Press, 1926.

BURMA.

List of European burial grounds in Burma, 1922.

II.—NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

Statement of tombs or monuments in India possessing historical or archaeological interest. Calcutta, 1893.

MADRAS.

The Oriental Obituary, Vols. I and II. By William Urquhart. Printed by him at the Journal Press, Madras, 1809 ; 1813.

BOMBAY.

An account of the old tombs in the cemeteries of Surat. By A. F. Bellasis' Bombay, 1868.

BENGAL.

Memoirs of the dead, 1743—1834, by one of the living, to which is added a synopsis of St. Bartholomew's Church, Barrackpore. By J. Vantham. Printed by Traill and Company, 20, British Indian Street, Calcutta.

The Complete Monumental Register : containing all the epitaphs, inscriptions in the different churches and burial grounds in and about Calcutta, including those of the burial grounds of Howrah, Dum-Dum, Barasat, Barrackpore, Pultah, Serampore, Chandernagore, Chinsurah and the Convent of Bandel, together with inscriptions from the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, etc. By M. Derozario, Calcutta, 1815.

Description and representation of the mural monument erected in the Cathedral of Calcutta to the memory of John Adam. By R. Westmacott, London, 1827.

The Bengal Obituary, being a compilation of tablets and monumental inscriptions from various parts of the Bengal and Agra Presidencies. 'By Holmes and Comany, Calcutta, 1851.

List of tombs or monuments in Bengal of historical or archæological interest. By E. S. Wenger, Calcutta, 1895.

The Thackerays in India and some Calcutta Graves. By Sir W. W. Hunter, London, 1897.

Register of graves in the Mission Turretta, North and South Cemeteries in Park Street, Calcutta. Calcutta, 1900.

Illustrated Handbook to St. John's Church, Old Cathedral, Calcutta. By E. W. Madge, Calcutta, 1909.

The Park Street cemeteries, Calcutta ; Handlist of the principal monuments. By G. O'Connell and E. W. Madge, Calcutta, 1911.

The registers and inscriptions of the Church of our Lady of Dolours, Baithakhana, Calcutta, 1810—1914. By the Rev. H. Hosten, Calcutta, 1915.

UNITED PROVINCES.

List of inscriptions on Christian tombs in the United Province of Agra and Oudh, Allahabad, 1911. (British Museum and London Library).

List of Christian tombs in Agra and Oudh. (London Library), 1912.

MYSORE.

European tombs and monuments in the Mysore State. By Benjamin Lewis Rice, C.I.E. Published by the Government of Mysore, 1906.

CENTRAL INDIA.

Return of European graves in Native State and Central India. Prepared in accordance with Government of India circular No. 226-1 of the 18th January 1895.

RAJPUTANA.

Register of Christian tombs and monuments in the Kotah State, Rajputana.

DUTCH POSSESSIONS IN INDIA.

Monumental remains of the Dutch East India Company.

APPENDIX G.

Revised list of commemorative tablets on notable buildings in India.

MADRAS.

1. *The Collector's small House (Anantapur, Madras).*—This house was occupied by Colonel (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro, first Collector of the Ceded District, 1800-07.

2. *Ganga Mahal, Penukonda (Anantapur, Madras).*—Palace of Krishna Deva Raya, Raja of Vijayanagar, 1509-30.

3. *The Munro Cutcherry (Anantapur, Madras).*—The building was the office of Sir Thomas Munro.

4. *No. 1 Officers' Mess, St. Thomas' Mount (Chingleput).*—This building was erected in 1815 and was used as the officers' mess of the Madras Artillery for nearly a century.

5. *Chepauk Palace, or Kalasa Mahal, South Beach Road, Triplicane (Madras).*—These buildings were formerly the palace of the Nawabs of the Carnatic.

6. *Munro's Tank and Garden (Dharmapuri, Salem).*—Sir Thomas Munro ever held in great affection the country included in the Baramahal, and especially the garden and tank formed by him near Dharmapuri which was his headquarters while employed as Assistant to the Superintendent of Revenue in the Baramahal from 1792 to 1799.

7. *Chandragiri Mahal (Chandragiri, Chittoor).*—Palace of the Rajas of Vijayanagar, "C.f. English Factory letter of the time of granting Madras to the British."

8. *Delhi Gate (Arcot Town, Chittoor).*—The Gate is believed to be a relic and the only relic of Lord Clive's defence of Arcot in the year 1751.

9. *The Collector's Bungalow at Manjakuppam (Cuddalore, South Aroot).*—This house was occupied by Robert (afterwards Lord) Clive, circa 1756.

10. *Tirumalai Naik's Palace, south-east of Madura Town (Madura).*—Palace of Tirumalai Naik, Raja of Madura, 1623-59.

11. *Tamkam Bungalow, north of the Vaigai River in Managiri village (Madura).*—This building was constructed by Rani Mangammal, circa 1700.

12. *Maternity Hospital, corner of Dindigul Road and West Perumal Maistry Street (Madura).*—It was formerly the west gate of Madura Fort, and is the only remaining portion of the old fortifications of Madura.

13. *Vittavasal Gateway, Amman Sannadhi Street (Madura).*—This structure was formerly the eastern gateway of the old Pandian Fort.

14. *S. P. G. Fort School Building (Tanjore).*—This house was occupied by the Danish Missionary, Schwartz, 1777.

15. *Schwartz Church in Sivaganga Fort (Tanjore)*.—This building was constructed in 1779 by the Danish Missionary, Schwartz.

16. *Dansborg, Tranquebar Fort (Tanjore)*.—Is reputed on account of its antiquity. The foundation of the fortress was laid in 1620 by Ove Gedde, a commander in the Royal Danish Navy, and it was completed in 1677.

17. *Christ Church Fort (Trichinopoly)*.—It was built by the Rev. C. F. Schwartz and dedicated by him on the 18th May, 1766.

18. *Audience Hall of Rani Mangammal in the Fort (Trichinopoly)*.—Audience hall of Rani Mangammal of the Naik dynasty who ruled the Madura country after Tirumalai Naik, *circa* 1700.

BOMBAY.

1. *Old Government House, Parel (Haffkine Institute, Bombay City)*.—Once a chapel in the possession of the Jesuit Fathers from whom it was acquired in 1719; subsequent occasional residence of the Governors of Bombay. In 1803 it was occupied by Sir James Mackintosh, Second Recorder of Bombay. Permanent residence of the Governors from 1829 to 1885. In November 1875, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (afterwards His Majesty King Edward VII) occupied a room in the building⁽²⁾.

2. *Mapla Por Fort (Bombay City)*.—The oldest English building in the city. The Court House of Gerald Aungier, Governor of Bombay, 1669—77.

3. *Great Western Hotel (Bombay City)*.—Formerly known as the Admiralty House; residence of the Admiral from *circa* 1764 to 1792. Court of the First Recorder of Bombay, 1800—79.

4. *Old Secretariat (Bombay City)*.—Governor's residence, 1757-1829. Old Secretariat, 1829-74. Governor Jonathan Duncan died here in 1811.

5. *Amroli House (Bombay City)*.—Some time residence of the Rev. Dr. John Wilson, oriental scholar and well-known missioner of the Free Church of Scotland.

6. *House overlooking the end of the Hornby Vellard (Bombay City)*.—Residence of Sir Bartle Frere (afterwards Governor of Bombay, 1862-67); also of the Malet family.

7. *Old Portuguese Building (Chouburji)*.—The Castle or factory of Cheul (Agarkot). This building known as the Choukoni Baruj was built by the Portuguese for their factory in 1516 A.D. and fortified between 1521 and 1524.

8. *Old English Factory (Surat)*.—Built in 1618 under a treaty made with Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) through the Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe; withstood a siege of Shivaji in 1664. It ceased to be used for its original purpose after Surat was annexed by the British in 1800.

9. *Old Portuguese Factory (Surat)*.—The old Portuguese Factory during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

⁽²⁾ Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, states:—"It was a chapel and a farm house. It was not acquired from the Jesuits, but confiscated by the Company against the conditions by which Bombay was ceded to the British Crown."

10. *Old Dutch Factory (Surat)*.—Original Dutch Factory established in 1620 under a charter granted by Shah Jahan.

11. *Sadar Adalat Building (Surat)*.—Seat of the Sadar Adalat of the Bombay Presidency from 1820 to 1828.

12. *Garden of G. P. O. (Poona)*.—Camp of Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington) about the year 1803.

13. *Judge's Residence (Poona)*.—This house stands upon the site of the British Residency which was burnt down by the Marathas on the eve of the Battle of Kirkee, November 5, 1817. The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Resident at Poona, 1810-17, lived here.

14. *Old Opium Godown Bungalow (Dhulia, Khandesh)*.—Erected by Capt. (afterwards General) Briggs, the First Collector and Political Agent, Khandesh, in 1819. The oldest European residence in Dhulia.

15. *Old English Factory (Rajapur, Ratnagiri)*.—The old English Factory. Erected in 1649 and closed in 1708.

16. *Bungalow at Dapuri (Poona)*.—Constructed about 1820 by Col. Ford, C.B., purchased by Sir John Malcolm for Government in 1828 and used as the residence of the Governors of Bombay till 1865.

17. *Fort of Shivneri (Poona)*.—The house on the summit was the birthplace of Shivaji, founder of the Maratha confederacy.

18. *Mount Malcolm at Mahabaleshwar (Satara)*.—This was the residence of Sir John Malcolm, Envoy to Persia, 1800-01 and 1810-11, and Governor of Bombay, 1827-30.

19. *Residency (Satara)*.—This house was occupied by Sir Bartle Frere, afterwards Governor of Bombay, who was Resident at Satara in 1847.

BENGAL.

1. *5, Russell Street (Calcutta)*.—This was the old Episcopal Palace, 1825-49, and residence of Bishop Heber in 1825-26.

2. *8, Mission Row (Calcutta)*.—This was the house of General Clavering, Member of Council, in which he died August 30, 1777.

3. *7, Hastings Street (Calcutta)*.—This building was the town residence of Warren Hastings, Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, 1774-85.

4. *1, Mission Row (Calcutta)*.—This was the residence of General Monson, Member of Council, 1774-76.

5. *Loreto House, 7/1, Middleton Row (Calcutta)*.—This house was the garden house of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, 1760-64. It was occupied by Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, 1774-82, and also by Bishop Heber for a few months in 1824.

6. *Bengal Club House (Calcutta)*.—In the house which formerly stood on this site, and was dismantled in 1908, resided Thomas Babington Macaulay, Law Member of the Supreme Council, in 1834-38.

7. *113, Northern (Upper) Circular Road (Calcutta)*.—From 1814 to 1830, this was the residence of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, founder of the Brahmo Samaj. Born 1772, died at Bristol, 1833.

8. *85, Amherst Street (Calcutta)*.—This was the family residence of Raja Ram Mohun Roy.

9. *House at the corner of Church Lane and Hare Street (Calcutta)*.—This was the residence of David Hare, an enthusiastic promoter of the English education of Indians. Born 1775, died 1842.

10. *25 and 26, Brindaban Mullick Lane [Vidyasagar Street] (Calcutta)*.—This was the residence of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, C.I.E., educationist, reformer and philanthropist. Born 1820, died 1891.

11. *Nabakissen's House, Sobhabazar (Calcutta)*.—This was the residence of Maharajah Nabakissen, Lord Clive's diwan, who died in 1797.

12. *59, Bhowani Churan Dutt Lane (Calcutta)*.—Birthplace and residence of Keshub Chandra Sen, religious reformer and Brahmo leader. Born 1838, died 1884.

13. *Lily Cottage, 78, Upper Circular Road (Calcutta)*.—Residence of Keshub Chandra Sen.

14. *5, Protap Chandra Chatterjee Lane (Calcutta)*.—Residence of Rai Bankim Chandra Chatterjee Bahadur, Bengali novelist and prose writer.

15. *6, Maniktola Road (Calcutta)*.—Residence of Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., scholar and antiquarian. Born 1824, died 1891.

16. *Outram Institute, Fort William (Calcutta)*.—This house was built for the Governor-General and was sometime occupied by him. It was temporarily the residence of Bishop Heber, October-December 1823.

17. *Military Hospital (Calcutta)*.—This building was formerly occupied by the Sadar Adalat, 1854-70.

18. *Hastings' House (Alipore)*.—This house, originally the country seat of Warren Hastings, first Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, 1774-85, was bought as a State Guest House by Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, in 1901.

19. *Magistrate's House (Alipore)*.—This house was occupied by Sir Philip Francis, Member of Council, 1774-80. W. M. Thackeray, the novelist, who was born in Calcutta, lived here as a child.

20. *Dum-Dum House (Dum-Dum)*.—The country house of Lord Clive when Governor of Fort William in Bengal, 1758-60 and 1764-67.

21. *House at Cossipore (Cossipore)*.—Residence of Sir Robert Chambers, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, 1791-98.

22. *Hastings Lodge (Rishra)*.—This house and estate, including originally sixty more bighas of land to the north, known as the Rishra Bagan or Garden, was from 1780 to 1784 the property of Warren Hastings, Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal.

23. *Wilson's House (Serampore)*.—This was the residence of the Right Reverend Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, 1832-58.

24. *Carey's House (Serampore)*.—This was the residence of William Carey, Orientalist and Missionary, 1800-34.

25. *Martin's Pagoda (Serampore)*.—This building was occupied by the missionary Henry Martin for public meetings and for private prayer and meditation in 1806. Martin died in Armenia in 1812, aged 32.

26. *Cheap's House (Surul, Birbhum)*.—Residence of Mr. Cheap, the first Commercial Resident at Surul, at the end of the 18th century.

27. *House at Saidabad (Saidabad, Murshidabad)*.—Residence of Maharajah Nanda Kumar, who was executed for forgery on August 5, 1775.

28. *Diwan Khana, Bara Mahal (Lalbagh, Murshidabad)*.—Here resided, when Paymaster-General of Nawab Ali Verdi Khan and Seraj-ud-daula, Mir Jafar, afterwards Nawab Nazim of Bengal, from 1757 to 1760 and again from 1763 to 1765.

29. *Magistrate's Court (Malda)*.—The old East India Company's Factory. Erected in 1771.

30. *Government Offices (Chinsura)*.—The old Dutch Barracks.

31. *House at Sagardari (Sagardari, Jessor)*.—Michael Madhusudan Dutt, the Bengali poet and scholar, was born here in 1824.

32. *100, Baranashi Ghose Street (Calcutta)*.—House formerly occupied by Rai Kristo Das Pal Bahadur until his death in 1884.

33. *8, Raja Gurudas Street (Calcutta)*.—Romesh Chandra Dutt, C.I.E., I.C.S., a distinguished man of letters, lived in this house.

34. *98-1, Mechua Bazar Street (Calcutta)*.—Ram Gopal Ghose, a pioneer in many social, educational and political movements, lived in this house from the year of his birth, 1814, until his death in 1868.

35. *Inspection Bungalow (Daulatpur, Khulna)*.—In memory of Rai Bankim Chandra Chatterjee Bahadur, C.I.E., fixed by the Bankim Chandra Memorial Committee.

36. *Old Residence (Tribeni, Hooghly)*.—House of Pandit Jagannath Tarkapananhan.

37. *Krishnagar Collegiate School (Krishnagar, Nadia)*.—House of Manmohan Ghose.

38. *Royal Exchange (Calcutta)*.—The building was the town house of Sir Philip Francis, Member of Council, 1774-80. Tradition says that this building occupies the site of a house in which Lord Clive once lived and from which Clive Street derives its name.

UNITED PROVINCES.

1. *Old Fort (Chunar)*.—This house was occupied by Warren Hastings, first Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, in the summer of 1781.

2. *Madho Das' Garden (Benares)*.—Here Warren Hastings stayed in Benares in 1781.

3. *Nande-ar House (Benares)*.—This house was defended by Mr. Davis against Vizier Ali, January 14, 1799.

4. *The Mint House (Benares)*.—This house was built as a Mint in 1820-21 from the designs of James Prinsep, who lived here till 1830. It was used as a place of refuge by the Europeans in June and July 1857.

5. *The Shiraka House (Benares)*.—Residence of Raja Chait Sing where, on the 16th August 1781, he was arrested by the orders of Warren Hastings, but was rescued by his adherents who massacred two companies of native troops with their British officers.

6. *Man Mandir (Benares)*.—Erected by Raja Man Singh *circa* 1600 A.D. and used as an observatory in the time of his descendant, Sawai Jaya Singh, the founder of Jaipur.

7. *Baihak of Tulsi Das (Benares)*.—In this room the poet and religious reformer Tulsi Das is said to have composed his *Vinaya Patrika*, a book of 279 hymns and prayers to Rama.

8. *House at Azamgarh (Azamgarh)*.—Residence of Mr. Thomason, when Collector of Azamgarh, 1832-57.

9. *Khankah (Jaunpur)*.—This building was the dower house of the Sharki Kings of Jaunpur and contains among others the tomb of Husain Shah ibn Mahmud, the sixth of the dynasty, who reigned A.D. 1458-76.

10. *Dilkhusa (Fyzabad)*.—Residence of Shuja-ud-Daulah, Nawab of Oudh, 1756-75.

11. *Motimahal (Fyzabad)*.—Residence of Her Highness Azmat-uz-Zuhra, "Bahu Begum," wife of Shuja-ud-Daulah. Married 1743, died 1815.

12. *Fort Calcutta (Fyzabad)*.—This fort was built by Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah after his defeat at Buxar in 1764.

13. *Moti Bagh (Fyzabad)*.—Residence of Nawab Aliya Sadar-un-nissa Begum, the 'Nawab Begum', mother of Shuja-ud-Daulah.

14. *House of Tulsi Das (Rajapur, Banda)*.—Site of the house of Tulsi Das, a Hindi poet and religious reformer, author of the Hindi *Ramayana*, who flourished at the end of Akbar's reign and died A.D. 1624.

15. *Bagh Badshahi (Khajuha, Fatchpur)*.—This garden was made by the Emperor Aurangzeb to commemorate his victory over Sultan Shuja at Khajuha on January 5, 1659.

16. *Mubarak Manzil (Agra)*.—This house was built by Aurangzeb to mark his first dwelling place in Agra after the defeat of Dara Shikoh in June 1658.

17. *House at Aligarh (Aligarh)*.—Residence of General Count de Boigne, 1783-96, and General du Perron, 1790-1803, two French military adventurers in the service of Scindia.

18. *House at Aligarh (Aligarh)*.—Residence of Sir Sayyad Ahmad, the Muhammadan educational reformer, who founded the Aligarh College.

19. *Balai Kot (Bulandshahr)*.—This is the site of the fort of Hardat or Haradatta, Dor Raja of Baran, which was the first place captured in these provinces by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1018-19, when he attacked and took Mathura and Kanauj.

20. *Ramsay's house (Almora)*.—This house was occupied by Captain (afterwards Major-General) Sir Henry Ramsay, Commissioner of Kumaun, 1856-83.

21. *Fort Nanda Devi or Malla Mahal (Almora)*.—This fort was erected by the Chand Rajas of Kumaun and strengthened by the Gurkha Government. It was captured by Colonel (afterwards Sir Jasper) Nicolls during the Nepal War on April 26, 1815. The convention for the surrender and evacuation of Kumaun was signed on the following day.

22. *Fort Moira, Lalmandi (Almora)*.—Captured by Colonel (afterwards Sir Jasper) Nicolls during the Nepal war on April 26, 1815.

23. “*Dumbarnie*” (*Mussoorie*).—Residence of Sir Proby Cautly, engineer and paleontologist, who superintended the construction of the Ganges Canal, 1843-54. He died in 1871.

PUNJAB.

1. *Ochterlony's house, Karnal (Karnal)*.—Residence of Sir David Ochterlony, who commanded the British forces in the Gurkha War, 1814-15, and was Political Resident at Delhi, 1818-25. He died at Meerut on the 14th of July 1825.

2. *Western Jumna Canal Office (Hissar)*.—Residence of George Thomas, an Irish military adventurer, who conquered and ruled Haryana from 1798 to 1801. He died a year later on his way home and was buried at Berhampur in Bengal.

3. *Hissar Fort (Hissar)*.—Erected by Feroz Shah Tughlaq.

4. *Post Office, Ludhiana (Ludhiana)*.—Residence of Shah Suja, the grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who was expelled from Afghanistan by his brother, but was placed by the English on the throne of Kabul on the 8th of May 1839. On the 2nd of May 1842, he was murdered by his nephew. While at Ludhiana in 1826-27, he wrote a biographical sketch of his life.

5. *Atherton Hall, Dharamsala (Kangra)*.—In this building the eighth Lord Elgin, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, died on the 20th of November 1863.

6. *Baradari at Jullundur (Jullundur)*.—Residence of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence when Commissioner of the Doab in 1846.

7. *Station Library, Amritsar (Amritsar)*.—Summer residence of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

8. *Punjab Civil Secretariat (Lahore)*.—Residence of Jean Baptiste Ventura, a General in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It became the British Residency in 1847 and was occupied by Sir Henry Lawrence as Resident at the Court of Lahore.

9. *Poonch House (Lahore)*.—Residence of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1864-68.

10. *Bahawalpur House, Lahore (Lahore)*.—Residence of Sir Robert Montgomery, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1859-65.

11. *Shish Mahal, Lahore Fort (Lahore)*.—Lord Dalhousie's proclamation regarding the annexation of the Punjab was read here in the presence of Maharaja Dalip Singh and his court.
12. *Shalamar Gardens (Lahore)*.—Pavilion occupied by William Moorcroft on his visit to Lahore, April 1820.
13. *Mission House, Batala (Gurdaspur)*.—Residence of Maharaja Sher Singh, grandson of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, ruler of the Punjab, 1840-43.
14. *Masonry platform at Kalanaur (Gurdaspur)*.—Site of the enthronement of Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar, Emperor of Hindustan, 1556-1605.
15. *House at Gujranwala (Gujranwala)*.—Birthplace of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, ruler of the Punjab, 1799-1839.
16. *Baradari at Gujranwala (Gujranwala)*.—Residence of Sardar Hari Singh, Nalwa, a general of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He was killed at Jamrud in January 1837.
17. *Baradari at Ramnagar (Gujranwala)*.—Summer resort of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
18. *Summan Burj at Wazirabad (Gujranwala)*.—Residence of General Avitabile, an Italian military adventurer and one of the generals of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
19. *Baradari at Sheikhpura (Sheikhupura)*.—Hunting resort of the Emperor Jahangir.
20. *Baradari at Gujrat (Gujrat)*.—Built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Headquarters of Maharaja Sher Singh.
21. *Baradari at Wah (Attock)*.—Rest-house of the Mughal Emperors.
22. *House opposite the Sessions Court, Multan, now the residence of the Commissioner (Multan)*.—Birthplace of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the successor of Nadir Shah who destroyed the power of the Marathas at Panipat in 1761.
23. *Pathan Palace, Shujabad (Multan)*.—Residence of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, the Afghan ruler of the country prior to the Sikh conquest, 1779-1818.

BIHAR.

1. *Chajju Bagh (Bankipore)*.—This house was formerly occupied by Mr. W. Tayler, Commissioner of Patna. Here the European residents took refuge for some weeks during the Mutiny in 1857.
2. *The Little House (Arrah, Shahabad)*.—This building was the scene of the memorable defence of Arrah by a party consisting of nine Europeans, six Eurasians, three Indians and fifty Sikh police, from July 27th to August 3rd, 1857, against three regiments of the native army who had mutinied at Dinaore.
3. *Cleveland House (Bhagalpur)*.—House of Mr. Augustus Cleveland, Collector of Bhagalpur and Rajmahal, who "without bloodshed or the terror of authority, accomplished the entire subjection of savage inhabitants of the jungle territory of Rajmahal". Died 1784.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

1. *Deputy Commissioner's House (Bannu).*—Residence of John Nicholson bearing the inscription "Here lived John Nicholson, Deputy Commissioner, 1852-56".

2. *Deputy Commissioner's House (Kohat).*—Sir Louis Cavagnari, K.C.B., C.S.I., resided in this house while in political charge of Kohat, 1866-1877.

3. *Gate of Tank Town (Dera Ismail Khan District).*—Sir Henry Durand, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, was killed from a fall off an elephant in 1870.

4. *Tower (Nara about one and a half mile to the west of village Khalabat in the Haripur Tehsil).*—Major (later Sir) J. Abbott, the late Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, erected between 1846 and 1853 a tower on the hill above the present village of Nara in commemoration of battles which were fought by Utmanzais and Mishwanis against Sikhs. He stayed there for some time during the first few years of his office.

5. *Deputy Commissioner's House (Peshawar).*—Residence of Sir H. Edwardes, Commissioner of Peshawar, 1853-59, and of John Nicholson, officiating Commissioner, March 2, 1857.

6. *Gorkhatri (Peshawar).*—Hindu place of pilgrimage visited by the Mughal Emperor Babar in 1519. General Avitabile lived here.

7. *Kothi Ali Mardan (Peshawar).*—The original building dates back to 1630 when Ali Mardan Khan, a refugee Governor of Kandahar, came to India and sought the protection of Shah Jahan, by whom he was created Amir-ul-umra and appointed Governor of Kabul and Peshawar. The building was re-constructed by the Sikh General Hari Singh. Major (afterwards Sir George) Lawrence resided here in 1849.

SIND.

1. *Government House (Karachi).*—This house was built and occupied by Sir Charles Napier, Conqueror and Governor of Sind, 1843-47.

2. *Residency at Jacobabad (Upper Sind Frontier).*—Residence and workshop of General John Jacob, who raised the Sind Horse and was afterwards Political Superintendent and Commandant of the frontier of Upper Sind. He planned and built Jacobabad and died here on November 5, 1858.

3. *House at Mirpurkhas (Thar and Parkar District, Sind).*—Residence of Mir Muhammad Khan Talpur, an ex-Amir of Sind, who died at Haidarabad on December 17, 1870.

COORG.

1. *Old Nalkand Palace (Yevakapadi).*—This was one of the residences of the Coorg Rajas before 1834.

2. *The Fort (Mercara).*—This was one of the residences of the Coorg Rajas before 1834.

DELHI.

1. *Government High School (Delhi)*.—Formerly the library of the Dara Shikoh, son of Shah Jahan, 1637. Residence of Ali Mardan, Mughal Viceroy of the Punjab, 1639. The Residency of Sir David Ochterlony, 1803.

MYSORE.

1. *Old Palace in the Fort (Bangalore)*.—This was once the residence of Tipu Sultan, Ruler of Mysore, 1782-99.

2. *Monument enclosed by a wall and gate (Devanhalli)*.—This monument commemorates the birth of Tipu Sultan in 1749.

3. *Cubbon Bungalow (Nandi Hills, Kolar District)*.—Summer residence of Sir Mark Cubbon, Commissioner of Mysore, 1834-61.

4. *North Gate Bungalow (Nandi Hills, Kolar District)*.—This house was built in the time of Tipu Sultan and occasionally used by him as a residence.

5. *Building on the top of Bundikota Hill (seven miles from the Bourringpet Railway Station, Bundikota)*.—Birthplace of Nawab Hyder Ali, Ruler of Mysore, 1759-82.

6. *Wellington Lodge (Mysore)*.—This house was occupied by the Duke of Wellington when in political charge of Mysore, 1799-1802.

7. *Sir P. N. Krishnamurthi's Bungalow (Seringapatam)*.—Residence of Lieutenant-General George (afterwards Lord Harris), acting Governor of Madras, 1798, who commanded in the war against Tipu Sultan, which ended with the capture of Seringapatam, May 4, 1799; also of Punaiya, Dewan to the Maharaja of Mysore, 1799-1811.

8. *Daria Dowlat (Seringapatam)*.—Residence of Colonel Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) when Governor of Seringapatam in 1799.

9. *The Residency, now Government House (Mysore)*.—This house was occupied by Sir John Malcolm when Resident at Mysore in 1807.

10. *Thimmapparaj Urs Mansion (Channapatna, Bangalore District)*.—Residence of a great Palayagar. (The building is now used as the Taluk Office).

11. *General Dobbs's Bungalow (Tamkur District)*.—The bungalow was built by General R. S. Dobbs, a well-known Officer of the Mysore Commission under Sir Mark Cubbon from 1834-62. This was purchased by the Mysore Government.

12. *General Dobbs's Bungalow (Devarayandurga Hill, Tamkur District)*.—This was also built by General Dobbs as a health resort and was purchased by Government. (This is now used as a traveller's bungalow.)

13. *Scott's Bungalow (Seringapatam)*.—Stone erected in memory of the house and grounds of Colonel Scott being transferred to His Highness the Raja of Mysore, May 1816.

14. *Position of the Old Palace of Tipu Sultan (Seringapatam)*.—Near this spot stood the Palace of Tipu Sultan.

15. *Birthplace of Krishnaraja III (Seringapatam)*.—Birthplace of His Highness Sir Krishnaraja Wodeyar Bahadur III, father of His Highness the Maharaja Sri Chamarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur and grandfather of His Highness the Maharaja Sri Krishnarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur IV. Born July 9, 1794.

16. *Memorial Mantap (Chamarajnagar)*.—Birthplace of His Highness Chamarajendra Wodeyar, great grandfather of His Highness the Maharaj Sri Krishnarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur IV. Born March 1, 1774.

CENTRAL INDIA.

1. *Malcolm's Kathi (Nalcha)*.—This building was originally constructed in 1441 by Mohammad Khilji, King of Mandu. It was subsequently used by Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., K.L.S., as his summer residence during the settlement of Malwa in 1819-1820.

2. *House at Sadalpur (Sadalpur)*.—This house was occupied by the Emperor Akbar on his way to and from the Deccan in 1572 A.D.

3. *Nilkanthishwar (Mandu)*.—This house was occupied by the Emperor Akbar on his way to and from the Deccan in 1572 A.D.

4. *Ochterlony Bungalow (Nimach)*.—This house was occupied by Sir David Ochterlony from 1822 to 1825.

RAJPUTANA.

1. *Building within the city walls below the Palace (Rampyari's Palace) (Mewar)*.—Constructed by Rampyari Gujari, a female attendant of the Dowager Princess Sardar Kanwar Jhali, the mother of Maharana Bhim Singh, in 1790 (V. S. 1847). Occupied by Col. Tod, First Political Agent in Western Rajputana States, and author of the *Annals of Rajasthan*, 1818-21.

2. *Building in the Jag Mandir Islands on the Pichhola Lake (Udaipur)*.—Construction of this water-palace commenced during the reign of Maharana Karan Singh (1620-28) and completed by Maharana Jagat Singh II (1628-52), after whom it was called Jag mandir. Prince Khurram (afterwards Emperor Shah Jahan) resided for some time in the palace while in revolt against his father Jahangir in 1623. Occupied by the English refugees from Nimuch in 1857.

3. *Fort Ajmer (Ajmer)*.—Constructed by the Emperor Akbar in 1570. Under the balcony of the Fort, Sir Thomas Roe was given the first official audience by the Emperor Jehangir on the 10th January, 1616.

4. *Assistant Commissioner's Bungalow (Beawar, Merwara)*.—Residence of Colonel Henry Hall, first British Officer in charge of Merwara, 1823-36, and also of Colonel Charles George Dixon, Superintendent of Merwara, 1836-53, and Commissioner of Ajmer, 1853-57.

5. *Anasagar Bund (Ajmer)*.—Constructed by the Emperor Shah Jahan in 1637.

6. *Reservoir near Mahfilkhana in the Dargah of Khawaja Sahib (Ajmer)*.—Erected to commemorate the visit of Her Majesty the Queen Empress Mary to Dargah on the 22nd December 1911.

APPENDIX H.

Price List of Old Records in the Punjab Civil Secretariat.

	Price.	Index Price.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Volume I. Delhi Residency and Agency, 1806-1857 ..	10 4 0	..
Volume II. Delhi Residency and Ludhiana and Karnal Agencies, 1804-1816.	9 4 0	..
Volume III. Ludhiana, Karnal and Ambala Agencies. Receipts from 1809-1840.	16 4 0	..
Volume IV. Ludhiana, Karnal and Ambala Agencies. Issues from 1810-1840.	16 0 0	..
Volume V. Ludhiana Agency. Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1816-1840.	9 8 0	..
Volume VI. Ludhiana Agency. Correspondence with Government, 1831-1840.	13 8 0	..
Volume VII. North-West Frontier Agency. Correspondence with Government, 1840-1845.	15 8 0	2 8 0
Volume VIII. North-West Frontier Agency. Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1840-1845.	24 8 0	2 8 0
Volume IX. Lahore Agency and Residency, 1846-1847 ..	12 8 0	1 12 0
Volume X. Resident, Lahore, and Chief Commissioner, Cis-and Trans-Sutlej Territories, 1st January 1849 to 7th April 1849.	18 4 0	1 12 0
Volume XI. Board of Administration, Punjab, 8th April 1849 to 10th April 1853. Military and Political Department.	15 0 0	1 12 0
Volume XII. Board of Administration, Punjab, 5th April 1849 to 10th February 1853. General Department.	15 0 0	1 8 0
Volume XIII. Chief Commissioner's Administration, Punjab, from 11th February 1853 to 31st December 1858. Political Department.	30 0 0	1 14 0
Volume XIV. Chief Commissioner's Administration, Punjab, from 11th February 1853 to 31st December 1858. Judicial Department.	12 8 0	1 14 0
Volume XV. Chief Commissioner's Administration, Punjab, from 11th February 1853 to 31st December 1858. General Department.	45 0 0	2 9 0
Volume XVI. Chief Commissioner's Administration, Punjab, from 11th February 1853 to 31st December 1858. Revenue Department.	40 0 0	2 6 0
Volume XVII. From 1859 to 1868. Judicial Department ..	50 0 0	2 10 0
Volume XVIII. From 1858 to 1863. General Department ..	60 0 0	2 14 0
Volume XIX. From 1864 to 1868. General Department ..	50 0 0	2 4 0
Volume XX. From 1859 to 1863. Political Department ..	80 0 0	2 2 0
Volume XXI. From 1864 to 1868. Political Department ..	65 0 0	2 7 0
Volume XXII. From 1862 to 1868. Financial Department ..	24 0 0	1 8 0
Volume XXIII. From 1859 to 1863. Revenue Department ..	95 0 0	2 12 0

		Price.	Index Price.
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Volume XXIV.	From 1864 to 1868. Revenue Department ..	47 0 0	2 4 0
Volume XXV.	From 1849 to 1861. Education Department ..	47 0 0	1 0 0
Supplementary Volume.	From 5th April 1849 to 10th Feb-ruary 1853. Revenue Department.	45 0 0	3 2 0
Supplementary Volume.	From 5th April 1849 to 10th Feb-ruary 1853. Judicial Department.	14 0 0	1 2 0
Press Lists of Mutiny Papers, 1857-58	.. .. .. (Not known)		1 4 0

Punjab Government Records.

Volume I.	Delhi Residency and Agency, 1807-1858	..	5 8 0	..
Volume II.	Ludhiana Agency, 1808-1815 ..	..	5 8 0	..
Volume III.	Lahore Political Diaries, 1847-1848 ..	..	5 8 0	..
Volume IV.	Lahore Political Diaries, 1846-1849 ..	..	5 8 0	..
Volume V.	Lahore Political Diaries, 1847-1849 ..	..	5 8 0	..
Volume VI.	Lahore Political Diaries, 1847-1949 ..	..	5 8 0	..
Volume VII.	Part I. Mutiny Correspondence ..	..	5 8 0	..
Volume VIII.	Part II. Mutiny Correspondence ..	..	5 8 0	..
Volume VIII.	Part I. Mutiny Reports ..	..	5 8 0	..
Volume VIII.	Part II. Mutiny Reports ..	..	5 8 0	..
Volume IX.	Selections from Note books kept by Captain G. Birch, 1818-1821.		2 12 0	..
Volume I.	Catalogue of Khalsa Durbar Records ..	..	2 8 0	..
Volume II.	Catalogue of Khalsa Durbar Records ..	..	7 8 0	..
Supplementary List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments ..		10 0 0		..

Lists of Monographs already published and under publication.

1. The Grand Trunk Road in the Punjab, by K. M. Sarkar, Rs. 2-12-0.
2. A History of the Development of the Judiciary in the Punjab (1846—1884) by Ram Lal Handa, Re. 1-6-0.
3. A Brief History of the Old Police Battalions in the Punjab, by H. L. O. Garret, As. 0-8-0.
4. A History of the Development of the Judiciary in the Punjab (1884—1926), by Daya Krishna Kapur, Re. 1-6-0.
5. A History of the Growth and Development of Western Education in the Punjab (1846—1884), by Harbans Rai Mehta, Rs. 2-2-0.
6. A History of the Development of the Police in the Punjab (1849—1905), by Barkat Ram Kalia, Rs. 4-0-0.
7. Colonization in the Rechna Doab, by Deva Singh, Rs. 3-12-0.
8. The Development of Local Self-Government in the Punjab (1849—1900), by Amar Nath, Re. 1-8-0.

Lists of Monographs already published and under publication—contd.

9. Commerce by Rivers in the Punjab. A Survey of the Marine Department, 1861—1872, by Faquir Chand Arora, Rs. 8-8-0.
10. John Lawrence as Commissioner of the Jullundur Doab (1846—1849), by R. R. Sethi, Rs. 3-8-0.
11. A History of the Excise System in the Punjab, by R. K. Kapur, Rs. 3-8-0.
12. The Building of the Jammu and Kashmir State, by Pandit Arjan Nath, Rs. 3-12-0.
13. A Critical Survey of the Punjab Mental Hospitals, by Major C. J. Lodge-Patch, I.M.S., Rs. 4-8-0.
14. Trial of Diwan Mul Raj (Governor of Multan), by Sita Ram Kohli, M.A., Rs. 8-12-0.
15. Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah II (Ex-King of Delhi), by H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Rs. 10-0-0.
16. Trial of Raja Lal Singh (the Lahore Minister), by R. R. Sethi, M.A. (Eco. and His.), F.R.Hist.S., F.R.G.S., Rs. 3-4-0.
17. Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh, 1810—1817, Rs. 8-8-0.
18. The Punjab a hundred years ago, Rs. 3.
19. Grey and Garrett's European Adventurers in the Punjab, Rs. 10-0-0.

APPENDIX I.

List of Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission
(corrected up to 31st December, 1937.)

Serial No.	Name.	Centre.
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1	Sir Edward Denison Ross, C. I. E., Ph.D., Director, School of Oriental Studies, London Institution (University of London), and formerly Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, Finsbury Circus, London, E. C. 2	
2	Sir William Foster, C.I.E., formerly Superintendent of Records, India Office, 4, Reynold's Close, London, N. W. 11	
3	Mr. W. T. Ottewill, O.B.E., Superintendent of Records, India Office, Whitehall, London, S. W. 1	
4	Sir Evan Cotton, M.A., C.I.E., formerly President of the Bengal Legislative Council and a Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 11, Jevington Gardens, Eastbourne, Sussex	London.
5	Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., M.A., C/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, W. ..	
6	Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., B. Litt., F. R. Hist. S., Cromwell's House, Woodstock, Oxford	
II.—IN BRITISH INDIA.		
ASSAM.		
7	Rai Bahadur S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, and Hon'y. Provincial Director, Deptt. of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam	Gauhati.
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8	Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., 6-A, Old Ballygunge Road, Calcutta	
9	Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Deptt. of Economics, Presidency College, Calcutta	
10	Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji, Hon'y. Member, Calcutta Historical Society, Calcutta	
11	Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth, M.R.A.S., 9, Marsden Street, Calcutta ..	Calcutta.
12	Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon), Ashutosh Professor of Indian History, Calcutta University, Calcutta	
13	Mr. K. Zachariah, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Hooghly Mohsin College, Chinsurah	
14	The Rt. Rev. Monsignor J. Fernandes, Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Calcutta	

Serial No.	Name.	Centre.
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- 15 Hakim Habibur Rahman, Hakim Habibur Rahman Road, Dacca }
 16 Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca } Dacca.
 University, Dacca

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 18 Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Professor of }
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 19 Dr. Mohammad Nazim, M.A., Ph.D., Offg. Superintendent, }
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 20 Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr .. Monghyr.

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 Poona } Poona.
 22 Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A., P. O. Kamshet, District Poona
 23 Mr. H. G. Franks, Journalist, C/o Editor, The Times of India, }
 Bombay } Bombay.

DELHI.

- 24 Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Professor of History, }
 St. Stephen's College, Delhi } Delhi.

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 29 Mr. M. R. Ry. P. P. Subramanya Sastry Avargal, B.A., Prof. of }
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 ment Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras }
 30 Mr. J. Franco, M.A., L.T., Professor of History, Presidency College, }
 Madras } Madras.
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 32 Mr. S. V. Venkateswara Ayyar, M.A., Professor and Head of the }
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Serial No.	Name.	Centre.
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PUNJAB.		
34	Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Principal, Government Intermediate College, Hoshiarpur	Hoshiarpur.
35	Mr. Mohammad Sadullah, M.A., Assistant to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore	Lahore.
36	Lala Ram Chand Manchanda, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Lahore	
37	Lt.-Col. H. Bullock, Offg. Deputy Judge Advocate-General, N. W. Circuit, H. Q., Northern Command, Murree/Rawalpindi	Murree and Rawalpindi.
UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.		
38	Mr. A. B. A. Haleem, B.A. (Oxon.), Bar.-at-Law, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh	Aligarh.
39	Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Agra	Agra.
40	Mr. J. C. Taluqdar, M.A., Professor of History, St. John's College, Agra.	
41	Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Professor and Head of the Deptt. of Indian History, Lucknow University, Lucknow	Lucknow.
III.—IN INDIAN STATES.		
BARODA.		
42	Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M.A., Manager, Huzur Political Office, Baroda	Baroda.
GWALIOR.		
43	Mr. F. G. Pearce, B.A., Principal, Sindhia High School, Fort, Gwalior	Gwalior.
44	Rani Lakshimbai Rajwade, Gwalior	
HYDERABAD.		
45	Mr. R. M. Crofton, I.C.S., Director-General, Revenue Department, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan)	Hyderabad.
46	Mr. Syed Khursheed Ali, Director, Dafter-e-Devani, Mal and Mulki, etc., H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan)	
INDORE.		
47	Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., Saraswati Niketan, Indore State, Indore	Indore.
48	Srimati Kamakabai Kibe, Indore	

Serial No.	Name.	Centre.
KOLHAPUR.		
49	Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., F.R.Hist.S., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur	Kolhapur.
MAYURBHANJ.		
50	Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., State Archaeologist, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada, Orissa	Mayurbhanj.
mysore.		
51	Rao Sahib Rajacharitra Visharad C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, The Mysore Economic Journal, Siddicutta, Bangalore	Bangalore.
TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN.		
52	Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A. (Oxon.), F.R.Hist.S., Principal, H. H. the Maharaja's College of Arts, Trivandrum, and Director of Public Instruction, Travancore	Travancore and Cochin.
IV.—IN FOREIGN POSSESSIONS.		
53	Mons. A. Balasubramaniam Pillai, Member, Historical Society of French India, and retired Head Clerk, H. E. the Governor's Office, Pondicherry	Pondicherry.
54	Sir Panduranga Pissurlenkar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Science, and Curator, Historical Records of Portuguese India, Cavaliero, Nova Goa	Nova Goa.
V.—IN BURMA.		
55	Mr. G. H. Luce, M.A., I. E. S., Lecturer in Far Eastern History, University College, Rangoon	Rangoon.
56	U Ba Dun, Bar.-at-Law, Secretary, Burma Legislative Council, Rangoon	
57	U Khin Maung, B.A., Director of Publicity, Burma Secretariat, Rangoon	

APPENDIX J.**I. Rules regulating the access of the public to the records in the Alienation Office, Poona.**

(Extract from the Handbook to the Alienation Office Records, Poona, compiled by G. S. Sardesai, B.A., page 42.)

RULES FOR INSPECTION.

The orders of Government which are contained in Government resolution No. 2806, dated 2nd November 1921, delegate to the Commissioner, Central Division, power to permit applicant to examine the Alienation Office records without payment of the prescribed fees. Such permission should only be given to genuine students of history who are likely to make good use of it.

The approved rules run as follows :—

1. The Commissioner, Central Division, has full power to grant permission to a genuine student of history to examine the records at the Alienation Office ; he has also the power to refuse permission in any particular case.
 2. No search, inspection or copies of documents will be allowed where such course would be considered prejudicial to the interest of Government.
 3. The applicant should specify the period for which he wants the permission to continue. If he wishes to extend the period once fixed, he must make a fresh application.
 4. While there is no desire on the part of Government to obstruct historical research, want of accommodation and the necessity of proper supervision will be the main consideration on which each application will be disposed of and, it seems, not more than 6 persons can be allowed such permission at a time under present circumstances. The question of improving the facilities now afforded for study is under the consideration of Government ; but it is obvious that the great mass of material now being published is ample for any save the most advanced students.
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Rules (framed by the Commissioner, Central Division) regarding access to the Alienation Office Records for bona fide research students.

1. The Alienation Office is open daily excepting Sundays and holidays. The hours of admission are from 12 noon to 5 P.M. except on Saturdays.

2. The Commissioner, C. D., will have full discretion in accepting or rejecting applications for permission to examine records in the Alienation Office or if the petition is accepted he will in his discretion withhold such records from inspection as he thinks fit.

3. Persons wishing to examine the Alienation Office records should apply in writing to the Commissioner, C. D., stating their occupation, address, qualifications and the object with which they wish to examine the records. The applicant should specify the period for which the permission is required. In case he wishes to extend the period he must make a fresh application.

4. No sort of mark, pen, pencil or otherwise should be made on any paper in the records.

5. The applicant should not disturb the arrangement of the records or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.

6. It is a condition of the grant of the permission to examine the records that any person who publishes a work based on those records shall deposit one copy of his work in the records as soon as it is published. Every person is required to sign an undertaking to that effect before being admitted to examine the records.

7. No applicant may have more than two rumals or files in his possession at one time, and that he informs the Head Clerk each day which rumals he wishes to examine that day.

8. The applicant is required to prepare his notes in duplicate. The notes taken by the applicant together with an English translation or substance of the same prepared by the applicant should be submitted to the Commissioner for scrutiny. The notes will be examined and the duplicate copy of the same will be given to the applicant with an endorsement of approval under the signature of the Commissioner or his Assistant.

9. Under no circumstances will permission be given to remove records from the Alienation Office. The notes taken by the applicant from day to day will not also be removed from the office unless they are finally approved by the Commissioner.

II. Rules for the Historical Museum, Satara.

(1) The Museum is open to the public from 8 A.M. to 11 A.M. and from 2 P.M. to 6 P.M. except on Thursday and other public holidays, and at other times by arrangement with the Curator*. The Curator must be present whenever the Museum is open.

*A change in the office hours is under contemplation. .

(2) Any person wishing to make use of the Museum must apply to the Chairman for a ticket, stating his or her name, address and occupation and his object for wishing to examine the records. A ticket must be renewed every six months.

(3) The Chairman has the right to refuse any application without giving reasons.

(4) No book, ms. or other object belonging to the collection may be removed from the premises. Inspection is only allowed on the spot.

(5) No umbrellas, sticks or bags may be brought into the Museum reading rooms.

(6) The following acts are strictly forbidden :—

(i) Damaging, *leaning on*, roughly handling, marking, mutilating or defacing in any way, removing or attempting to remove, the property of the Museum.

(ii) Tracing.

(iii) Chewing betel, spitting, smoking, eating food or loud talking in the reading rooms.

(iv) Persistent disregard of the Curator's orders.

Any one breaking these rules will be liable to be excluded from the Museum.

(7) Any person wishing to consult a volume or a bundle of mss. papers must enter his name and the number of the book on a slip provided for the purpose, which will be returned when the book or record is handed in.

(8) The Curator will maintain a register of all books, mss., etc., issued.

(9) In the case of documents, books, or prints of great value or in a fragile condition, the Curator shall impose such special conditions for their use as he thinks necessary. Books and records are to be handled as little as possible.

(10) The Curator will supply true copies of any document at the rate of (2) two annas for 50 words. Search work and reporting will also be undertaken on application to the Chairman. The scale of fees for search work and reporting may be ascertained from the Curator.

(11) It is a condition that persons consulting the Historical Museum records shall present the Museum with two copies of any book, thesis or articles utilising information obtained therefrom, free of charge.

APPENDIX K.

Rules regulating the access of the public to—

- (i) the records of His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States hereinafter referred to as "Crown Representative"; and
- (ii) such records relating to British India and Tribal Areas as are inseparably mixed up with (i) in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.

NOTE.—These rules are applicable only to cases where documents are required for *bona fide* historical research.

1. The Record Office is open daily except on Sundays and other holidays a list of which shall be put up in the Visitors' Room.

2. The hours of admission shall be from 10-30 a.m. to 4-30 p.m. on all days except Saturdays and from 10-30 a.m. to 2 p.m. on Saturdays.

*3. Persons desiring to examine the records of the above two categories shall apply in writing to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, New Delhi, stating their office, profession, titles or other qualifications, and the object for which they wish to examine them together with an inspection fee of Rs. 5.

The Keeper of the Records may, at his discretion, require a research scholar to produce a letter of introduction from the university authorities or from any eminent historian or other reliable persons. Persons employed in universities should apply through the Vice-Chancellor of the university concerned.

4. Similar application from a Ruling Prince or his representative or from a subject of an Indian State shall be made through the local Political authority.

5. (a) The Crown Representative reserves to himself or to authorities duly authorised by him the right to refuse any application for the examination of these categories of records referred to in the preamble or to accept it with such modifications as may be considered necessary.

(b) All applications received under rules 3 and 4 shall be referred to the Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative. In the case of the records of the Crown Representative, with which are mixed matters concerning the Defence, Finance, External Affairs and/or Legislative Department of the Government of India, the concurrence of the Department or Departments concerned shall also be necessary.

*Since amended as follows :—

Delete the words "together with an inspection fee of Rs. 5" (*vide* the letter from the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, No. F.50-3|38-E., dated the 12th April 1938).

6. Permission to inspect the records shall remain valid only for two months from the date on which it is granted. If the permission is not availed of or if the inspection of records is not completed within this period, a further application shall be necessary for permission to inspect or continue to inspect the records as the case may be. All applications made under this rule shall be disposed of by the Keeper of the Records unless he thinks it necessary to refer any particular case to the proper authority.

7. Records may be inspected only within the Record Office and in the presence of a member of the supervisory staff. In any particular case the Keeper of the Records may impose such further conditions as he deems necessary to ensure the preservation and proper treatment of records.

8. Copies or extracts from the records shall not be taken out of the office building, nor shall any use be made of the information gained from the records without the permission of the Keeper of the Records, who will refer to the authorities named in rule 5 (b) before giving such permission. An examination fee of Rs. 2 per 100 typed foolscap papers (double spacing) with a minimum of Rs. 15 will be charged before permission is given to take out or make use of copies or extracts from the records.

9. Persons not desiring or unable to examine the records themselves may apply for a search to be made at their cost to the Keeper of the Records, who may, if possible, arrange for the search to be undertaken either by the Assistants of the Imperial Record Department or by some other reliable person. The cost will be recovered at the rate of Rs. 7-8-0 per diem per Assistant employed on the search or Rs. 1-4-0 per hour per Assistant if the search does not last a whole day of 6 hours.

10. Typed copies of documents may be obtained from the Record Office with the sanction of the Keeper of the Records on payment at the rate of one anna for every 50 words.

11. No volume or paper shall be delivered to any person using the Record Office until he has signed a receipt for the same. Records shall be given back to the Assistant-in-Charge as soon as they are longer required and the receipt shall then be returned.

12. No person may have more than five 'original consultations' or two volumes out at one time. Documents in a fragile condition shall be handed over singly or subject to such conditions as the Keeper of the Records may deem necessary for their safety.

13. Large folio volumes shall be placed on book rests and handled as little as possible.

14. No person shall lean on any of the documents, or put one document on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.

15. No mark of any description shall be made on any record.

16. With a view to prevent ink being spilt on records the use of an ink-stand shall not be allowed. If the volumes or documents can be placed on book-rests a fountain pen may be used for the purpose of taking notes or extracts ; in all other cases notes or extracts shall be taken in pencil.

17. All copies, extracts and notes must be submitted in typescript. If necessary, the Keeper of the Records will arrange to have them typed at a cost of one anna for every .50 words.

18. Tracing of signatures and drawings may be made only with the permission of the Keeper of the Records and subject to such conditions as he may impose. Permission shall not be given if it appears to the Keeper of the Records that the process of tracing is likely to damage the document.

19. Any person who uses the records for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records shall deposit in the Record Department one copy of each of the works immediately after publication.

20. No person may chew *pan* or other like substance while working in the Record Office, nor may he place any articles of food on tables meant to be used for keeping records, documents or other papers.

21. Smoking is strictly prohibited in the Record rooms.

22. All fees leviable under these rules must be paid in advance.

Rules regulating the access of the public to the records of the Government of India in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.

NOTE.—These rules are applicable only to cases where documents are required for *bona fide* historical research.

1. The Record Office is open daily except on Sundays and other holidays a list of which shall be put up in the Visitors' Room.

2. The hours of admission shall be from 10-30 a.m. to 4-30 p.m. on all days except Saturdays and from 10-30 a.m. to 2 p.m. on Saturdays.

* Persons desiring to examine the records of the Government of India shall apply in writing to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, New Delhi, stating their office, profession, titles or other qualifications, and the object for which they wish to examine them together with an inspection fee of Rs. 5.

The Keeper of the Records may, at his discretion, require a research scholar to produce a letter of introduction from the university authorities or from any eminent historian or other reliable persons. Persons employed

*Since amended as follows :—

Delete the words "together with an inspection fee of Rs. 5" (*vide* the letter from the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, No. F. 50-3|38-E., dated the 12th April 1938).

in universities should apply through the Vice-Chancellor of the university concerned.

4. All applications shall be disposed of by the Keeper of the Records in accordance with the rules drawn up from time to time by the Departments to which the records belong. In the case of records belonging to the Defence, Finance, External Affairs and Legislative Departments the Keeper is required to make a reference to those Departments.

5. Government reserve to themselves the right to refuse any application or to accept it with such modifications as they consider necessary.

6. Permission to inspect the records shall remain valid only for two months from the date on which it is granted. If the permission is not availed of or if the inspection of records is not completed within this period, a further application shall be necessary for permission to inspect or continue to inspect the records as the case may be. All applications made under this rule shall be disposed of by the Keeper of the Records unless he thinks it necessary to refer any particular case to the Department concerned.

7. Records may be inspected only within the Record Office and in the presence of a member of the supervisory staff. In any particular case the Keeper of the Records may impose such further conditions as he deems necessary to ensure the preservation and proper treatment of records.

8. Copies or extracts from the records shall not be taken out of the office building, nor shall any use be made of the information gained from the records, without the permission of the Keeper of the Records, who will, if necessary, refer the matter to the Departments concerned. An examination fee of Rs. 2 per 10 typed foolscap papers (double spacing) with a minimum of Rs. 15 will be charged before the permission is given to take out or make use of copies or extracts from the records.

9. Persons not desiring or unable to examine the records themselves may apply for a search to be made at their cost to the Keeper of the Records, who may, if possible, arrange for the search to be undertaken either by the Assistants of the Imperial Record Department or by some other reliable person. The cost will be recovered at the rate of Rs. 7-8-0 per diem per Assistant employed on the search or Rs. 1-4-0 per hour per Assistant if the search does not last a whole day of 6 hours.

10. Typed copies of documents may be obtained from the Record Office with the sanction of the Keeper of the Records on payment at the rate of one anna for every 50 words.

11. No volume or paper shall be delivered to any person using the Record Office until he has signed a receipt for the same. Records shall be given back to the Assistant-in-Charge as soon as they are no longer required and the receipts shall then be returned.

12. No person may have more than five 'original consultations' or two volumes out at one time. Documents in a fragile condition shall be handed over singly or subject to such condition as the Keeper of the Records may deem necessary for their safety.
 13. Large folio volumes shall be placed on book-rests and handled as little as possible.
 14. No person shall lean on any of the documents, or put one document on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.
 15. No mark of any description shall be made on any record.
 16. With a view to prevent ink being spilt on records the use of an ink-stand shall not be allowed. If the volumes or documents can be placed on book-rests a fountain pen may be used for the purpose of taking notes or extracts ; in all other cases notes or extracts shall be taken in pencil.
 17. All copies, extracts and notes must be submitted in typescript. If necessary, the Keeper of the Records will arrange to have them typed at a cost of one anna for every 50 words.
 18. Tracing of signatures and drawings may be made only with the permission of the Keeper of the Records and subject to such conditions as he may impose. Permission shall not be given if it appears to the Keeper of the Records that the process of tracing is likely to damage the document.
 19. Any person who uses the records for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records shall deposit in the Record Department one copy of each of the works immediately after publication.
 20. No person may chew *pan* or other like substance while working in the Record Office, nor may he place any articles of food on tables meant to be used for keeping records, documents or other papers.
 21. Smoking is strictly prohibited in the Record rooms.
 22. All fees leviable under these rules must be paid in advance.
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APPENDIX L.**GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.**

Rules governing the access by private persons, Government Departments and offices to mixed Records relating to Indian States and British India which cannot be split up.

1. The Rules printed in Government Notification, Political Department, No. 6215, dated the 5th April, 1929, governing the access by private persons to Government records shall apply *mutatis mutandis* in respect of applications from private persons for access to mixed records relating to Indian States and British India which have been deposited in the Record Office.
 2. Whenever any records of the nature referred to in rule 1 are required out of the Record Office by any Department or office of the Government of Bombay an application should be made on a printed form through the Chief Secretary to Government, Political and Reforms Department, specifying the document required. The application should be signed by an officer not below the rank of Assistant Secretary and shall be further countersigned by the Chief Secretary or by an officer of his department authorized by him in this behalf before it is forwarded to the Record Office for compliance. In the case of the Chief Secretary's Department, such application shall be signed by the Chief Secretary or by an officer of his Department authorized as aforesaid. An application which is not made in accordance with this rule shall not be attended to by the Record Office.
 3. A Book shall be kept by the Record Office showing each requisition received by it for access to the mixed records, whether from a private person or from a department or office of Government, the date of such requisition, the person, department or office from whom it was received and the particulars of the record required. A summary of this book for each calendar year shall be sent in the month of January of the next following year to the Chief Secretary to Government, Political and Reforms Department, for transmission to the Crown's Representative for information.
 4. Save as provided in rules 2 and 3, the rules of the Secretariat Record Office circulated with Government Resolution, General Department, no. 3309, dated the 16th September 1892, shall, so far as may be, apply in respect of requisitions from Departments or offices of Government for access to the mixed records.
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EXTRACT FROM THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT GAZETTE, APRIL 11, 1929, PART I,
PP. 584—6.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Bombay Castle, 5th April 1929.

No. 6215.—The following rules are published in supersession of those promulgated in Separate Department Press Note no. 252, dated the 18th May 1920 :—

Rules affecting access by private persons to the records in the Secretariat Record Office, Fort, Bombay.

NOTE.—These rules are applicable only to cases where documents are required for *bona fide* historical research.

1. The Record Office is open daily, excepting Sundays and holidays. The hours of admission are 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. ; on Saturdays, 11 a.m. to 2 p.m.
2. Persons wishing to examine the records should apply in writing to the Chief Secretary to Government, stating their occupation, address and qualifications and the object with which they wish to examine the records.
3. Government reserves to itself the right to refuse or to modify any application. Unpublished records will not be placed at the disposal of novelists who cannot be regarded as coming within the description of serious historical students.
4. Inspection is allowed only in the Record Office itself.
5. Permission must be obtained to take copies and extracts and to make use of information gained from the records.
6. It is a condition of the grant of permission to examine the records that any person who publishes a work based on those records shall deposit one copy of his work in the Record Office as soon as it is published. Every person is required to sign an undertaking to that effect before being admitted to examine the records.
7. Persons not willing or being unable themselves to examine the records should apply to the Director of Information, in charge of the Record Office, who will, if possible, arrange for the search to be undertaken at the cost of the applicant.
8. A separate slip shall be clearly written and signed by every person for each paper or volume he requires before any record can be produced. The slip is returned to him when he again hands over the record.
9. No person may, without the Chief Secretary's permission, have more than 2 volumes of the records in his possession at one time. Documents of exceptional value and documents in a fragile condition shall only be produced subject to such condition as the Record Keeper shall, in the particular case, think requisite for their safety and integrity.

10. Silence as far as possible is to be maintained in the Record Office. No umbrellas, sticks or bags shall be taken into the Record Office. No food shall be eaten in the Record Office. *Pan* chewing, spitting and smoking are strictly prohibited.

11. The Record Keeper in charge of the Record Office is empowered to exclude persons from the Record Office for

- (i) wilful breach of the foregoing rules and regulations ;
- (ii) persistent disregard of the officer's authority ;
- (iii) damage of any sort to any records belonging to the Government of Bombay ;
- (iv) language, conduct, habits, dress or anything else offensive or likely to cause offence to other occupants of the Record Office.

Provided always that the exclusion of any person shall be notified in writing to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay whose order shall be final.

12. No person may lean on any of the volumes, or put one on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.

13. No sort of mark, pen, pencil or otherwise, may be made on any record. Tracing is not permitted.

14. Information as to cost of copies and searches is contained in the set of rules below.

Rules for inspection, search or obtaining copies of documents from the records of the Secretariat.

(Bombay Government, Revenue Department, Notification No. 2023, dated the 14th March 1889, and General Department Notification No. 4138, dated the 9th August 1909.)

1. Every application for search, inspection and obtaining copies of or extracts from the Government records shall be made in writing on plain paper. The date of receipt shall be endorsed upon the application as also shall be the number and date of the order of the Secretary granting the same and the dates on which the requisition was satisfied, and the amount of the fee received shall be duly recorded. The name of the person who conducted the search shall also be recorded in full.

2. Copies shall be given in accordance with Article 24, Schedule I of Act II of 1899, and Articles 6 to 9, Schedule I of Act VII of 1870, as amended from time to time.

3. A fee of Rs. 5 for each day will be charged in every case for search and inspection when permitted by Government. In no case will less than Rs. 5 be charged for search or inspection. The search will be conducted by clerks in the Department of the Secretariat concerned.

4. Each applicant will be required to pay a deposit of Rs. 20 before search and inspection of records are allowed.

5. For every copy of a document taken from the records a fee of one rupee will be charged as a comparing fee.

6. Copying fees at the rate of two annas for every 100 words or fraction of 100 words will be charged, but if the original is in a tabular form, double this rate will be charged.

7. No search, inspection or copies of documents will be given in cases where it is considered that such a course would be prejudicial to the interests of Government. In no case will copies of Government resolutions be given.

Article 24 of Schedule I of Act II of 1899 (The Indian Stamp Act), as amended by Bombay Act II of 1927.

(See Rule 2 above.)

Description of instrument.

Proper stamp duty.

Copy or extract certified to be a true copy or extract by or by order of any public officer and not chargeable under the law for time being in force relating to Court fees—

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| (i) if the original was not chargeable with duty or if the duty with which it was chargeable does not exceed one rupee.. | one rupee. |
| (ii) in any other case | two rupees. |

Exemptions.

(a) Copy of any paper which a public officer is expressly required by law to make or furnish for record in any public office or for any public purpose.

(b) Copy of, or extract from, any register relating to births, baptisms, namings, dedications, marriages, divorces, deaths or burials.

Extract from Schedule I of Act VII of 1870 (The Court Fees Act).
(See Rule 2 above.)
Ad valorem fees.

Number.	Proper fee.
6. Copy or translation of a judgment or order not being, or having the force of, a decree.	When such judgment or order is passed by any Civil Court, other than a High Court, or by the presiding officer or any Revenue Court or Office, or by any other Judicial or Executive Authority :— (a) if the amount or value of the subject-matter is fifty or less than fifty rupees Four annas. (b) if such amount or value exceeds fifty rupees Eight annas.
	When such judgment or order is passed by a High Court One rupee.
7. Copy of a decree or order having the force of a decree.	Whon such decree or order is made by any Civil Court other than a High Court, or by any Revenue Court :— (a) if the amount or value of the subject-matter of the suit wherein such decree or order is made is fifty or less than fifty rupees Eight annas. (b) if such sum or value exceeds fifty rupees One rupee.
	When such decree or order is made by a High Court Four rupees.
8. Copy of any document liable to stamp duty under the Indian Stamp Act, 1899*, when left by any party to a suit or proceeding in place of the original withdrawn.	(a) When the stamp duty chargeable on the original does not exceed one rupee The amount of the duty chargeable on the original. (b) In any other case One rupee.
9. Copy of any revenue or judicial proceeding or order not otherwise provided for by this Act, or copy of any account, statement, report or the like, taken out of any Civil or Criminal or Revenue Court or Office, or from the Office of any Chief Officer charged with the executive administration of a Division.	For every three hundred and sixty words or fraction of three hundred and sixty words Eight annas.

*This article was substituted for the original article 8 by Bombay Act III of 1926, Section 3.

Extract from Section 6 of Act VII of 1870.

“..... No document of any of the kinds specified as chargeable in the first or second schedule to this Act annexed shall be furnished by any public officer, unless in respect of such document there shall be paid a fee of an amount not less than that indicated by either of the said schedules as the proper fee for such document.”

By order of the Governor in Council,

J. R. MARTIN,
Chief Secretary to Government.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

Rules governing access to records relating to British India and Indian States.

1. All records concerning both States and British India which cannot be split up and which are in the custody of the Provincial Government shall be kept in a separate place or room in the Bengal Secretariat Record Department.

2. No one shall have any access to such records, save with the permission of the Secretary to the Governor of Bengal or the Assistant Secretary to the Governor of Bengal, who have been duly authorised by His Excellency the Crown Representative in this behalf.

3. Any requisition for these records should be made on a printed form by Departments of Government, and should be addressed to the Keeper of Records. It should be signed by a gazetted officer and should state clearly the purpose for which the record is required.

4. The Keeper of Records shall submit such requisition together with the records concerned to the Secretary to the Governor of Bengal, through the Home Department for orders.

5. The Keeper of Records shall maintain a separate register of all records sent out to Departments and shall bring to the notice of the Home Department all cases in which a record has not been returned within a period of one month and half from the date of issue.

GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR.

Rules governing access to records relating both to British India and Indian States in the Civil Secretariat Record Room at Patna.

1. The Crown papers shall be kept in the Bihar Secretariat Record Room at Patna in a specially constructed and locked compartment. The key of the compartment shall remain in the custody of the Record Keeper under the control of the Under Secretary in charge of the Record Room.

2. No one except the Record Keeper shall have access to the records deposited in the compartment; no such record shall be removed therefrom by any person without the written permission of the Under Secretary in charge of the Record Room.

3. The Under Secretary in charge of the Record Room will allow access to Crown records only on the written authority of the Secretary to the Governor of Bihar who has been authorised by His Majesty's Representative on this behalf.

4. It shall be the duty of the Record Keeper to see personally that—

(1) the Crown records are regularly and properly dusted and kept tidy, and that the precautions laid down for the preservation of records from damp, insects, etc., are duly observed.

- (2) no unauthorised person is allowed to enter the compartment set apart for Crown papers or to have access to these records in any way.
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GOVERNMENT OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

Rules governing access to mixed records relating to British India and Indian States in the custody of the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar.

1. All records relating to British India and Indian States which cannot be split up and which are referred to in these rules as 'mixed records' shall be kept separate from the other records in the Provincial Record Room, and access to them shall not be given without the written permission of the Secretary to Government in the Political and Military Department or such other officer as may be authorised by him.

2. Whenever any record referred to in rule 1 is required by any Department of the Secretariat, a requisition shall be sent to the Secretary to Government in the Political and Military Department specifying the document and the purpose for which it is required. The requisition shall be signed by the Under Secretary in charge of the Department and shall be countersigned by the Secretary to Government in the Political and Military Department. A requisition which is not made in accordance with this rule shall not be accepted.

3. The rules relating to the inspection of records by the public printed in Chapter XV of the Secretariat Office Manual shall apply in respect of applications from private persons for access to mixed records, except that such application shall be addressed to the Secretary to Government in the Political and Military Department instead of to the Registrar.

4. A register shall be maintained by the Record Office showing each requisition received by it for mixed records, whether from a department of the Secretariat or from a private person, the date of such requisition, the department or person making the requisition, the particulars of the record required and the purpose for which it is required. A summary of the register for each calendar year shall be sent in the month of January of the next following year to the Secretary in the Political and Military Department for transmission to the Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative for information.

5. Save as provided in the above rules, the rules of the Secretariat Record Office shall, so far as may be, apply in respect of requisitions from departments of the Secretariat for access to the mixed records.

GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM.

Rules governing access to the records relating to Indian States and Tribal Areas.

1. Records in the Secretariat Record Room are divided into following four categories :—

- (1) Records relating to British India.
- (2) Records relating to the Indian States.
- (3) Records relating to tribal areas.
- (4) Mixed records relating to British India and Indian States tribal areas which cannot be *prima facie* separated.

2. Records of categories 2 and 3 are kept in two small separate rooms in the Record Room building, and those of the categories 1 and 4 are kept in the main Record Room.

3. For the purpose of records relating to tribal areas and Indian States the Record Keeper will be under the control and supervision of the Governor's Secretary.

4. Mixed records kept in the main Record Room and relating to British India and tribal areas are marked with a distinctive slip in *green* pasted on the file cover and those relating to British India and Indian States with a similar slip in red.

5. In dealing with requisitions for records relating to the Indian States or tribal areas including mixed records relating to the Indian States|tribal areas, the Record Keeper shall be guided by special or general orders of the Governor's Secretary. In case of records contained in the main record room which have not been marked with distinctive slips, but which on scrutiny are found to relate in part to Indian States or tribal areas the requisition for such records shall be dealt with as if the records were marked with the appropriate distinctive slip, the particular record or records being marked with the relevant slip before being taken out of the record room.

6. In passing orders under the last preceding paragraph the Governor's Secretary may—

- (i) permit any collection of categories 2, 3, or 4, to be available as a whole to the department making the requisition ; or
- (ii) may order that papers relating to the Indian States or tribal areas be withheld therefrom and kept separate and the remaining papers made available to the department ; or
- (iii) may order that copies of such portions of the records only be sent as are required by the department for reference and can without objection be made available to it.

7. If any collection not marked with a distinctive slip be received from the main Record Room by a department other than that of the Governor's Secretary and on scrutiny be found to relate in part to Indian States or tribal areas, it shall be the duty of the department to bring the fact to the notice of the Secretary in charge who will, before the file is submitted to the Minister, ascertain from the Governor's Secretary if there is any objection to the collection being placed on a current file.

8. In general, political cases relating to subjects such as relations of the Crown to an Indian State, including matters relating to the federation of the State, matters relating to tribal areas and the internal administration of these areas will not be made available to the departments of the Secretariat dealing with provincial affairs without the special sanction of the Governor as the Representative of the Crown or as the Agent to the Governor-General, as the case may be.

GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

Rules governing access to records relating primarily to Tribal Areas and Indian States.

1. Records relating primarily to Tribal Areas and Indian States under the North-West Frontier Administration shall be retained in the custody of His Excellency the Governor in his capacity as Agent to the Governor-General and Crown representative, respectively.

2. Access to such records shall be permissible only with the permission of the Chief Secretary to Government, acting under the authority of His Excellency the Governor in his capacity as Agent to the Governor-General or Crown representative. If a paper contained in any such record is required for the disposal of a case relating to the Provincial Government, the Secretary in the Department concerned may call for such paper from the Chief Secretary by means of a requisition.

3. The Chief Secretary shall comply with such a requisition unless he sees any objection, in which case he shall take the orders of His Excellency the Governor in his capacity as Agent to the Governor-General or Crown representative.

Rules governing access to records relating primarily to the Baluch Tribal Area West of the Dera Ghazi Khan district.

1. In these rules records relating primarily to the Baluch Tribal Area West of the Dera Ghazi Khan district shall be termed "Tribal Records".

2. Besides the Punjab Government Secretariat, Tribal Records shall be maintained only in the offices of the following :—

- (i) The Commissioner, Multan Division,
- (ii) The Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ghazi Khan,

- (iii) The Political Assistant, Dera Ghazi Khan,
- (iv) The Commandant, Baluch Levy, Dera Ghazi Khan,
- (v) Dera Ghazi Khan Sub-Division (Building and Roads Branch),
- (vi) Executive Engineer, Multan Provincial Division,
- (vii) Superintending Engineer, 1st Circle, Rawalpindi,
- (viii) Superintending Engineer, Public Health Circle,
- (ix) Executive Engineer, 1 Lahore, Public Health Division, Lahore, and
- (x) Sub-Divisional Officer, Public Health Sub-Division, Montgomery.

The records shall in all cases be under the control and supervision of the Head of each office.

3. Tribal Records shall be kept separate from those relating to the Provincial administration.

4. The Governor-General and any official duly authorised by him in this behalf shall have access to the Tribal records. The Head of the office concerned may grant access to these records to subordinate officials in the Punjab who are directly concerned with the disposal of day to day business relating to the administration of the Baluch Tribal Area.

5. The safe custody of Tribal Records and the temporary removal of any file forming part thereof for the disposal of tribal references shall be regulated by the general rules of office management applicable to each office.

APPENDIX M.

THE HISTORICAL EXHIBITION, 1937.

The Historical Exhibition organised in connection with the fourteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Central Museum, Lahore, and was opened by the Hon'ble Mr. Manohar Lal, Bar.-at-Law, Finance Minister of the Punjab, at 5 P.M. on the 13th December in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. The exhibits, which came from Government archives, Indian States, public institutions and private persons belonging to various parts of India, were remarkable both as regards variety and antiquity. These comprised modern state papers of first rate importance, documents of the Mughal and Maratha periods, inscriptions, coins, grants, etc., of the ancient and later Hindu Kings, historical paintings, rare books, manuscript works, fine specimens of calligraphy and many other articles of antiquarian interest.

The exhibition was open to the public from the 14th to 16th December and proved to be a great success. The usual fee for admission to the Museum during these three days was suspended by the Government of the Punjab.

A complete list of the exhibits will be found in the following pages.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI,
Secretary,
Indian Historical Records Commission.

LIST OF EXHIBITORS.

Government Archives.

	PAGE.
1. Imperial Record Department	287
2. Government of Bengal	291
3. Punjab Record Office	292

Indian States.

1. H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad	296
2. Gwalior State	297
3. Kapurthala State	298
4. Jodhpur State	298
5. Kolhapur State	300
6. Mayurbhanj State	301

Libraries, Universities and other Institutions.

1. Imperial Library, Calcutta	303
2. The Calcutta Madrasah	303
3. Dacca University	303
4. Punjab University Library	303
5. Mayo School of Arts, Lahore	304
6. Khalsa College, Amritsar (Sikh History Research Department)	304
7. " Sharadashram ", Yeotmal	307
8. Patna Museum	312
9. Sri Mannu Lall Library, Gaya, Bihar	313
10. The Museum Darul Falah, Delhi	313
11. The Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi	315

Private individuals and Firms.

1. Revd. Father H. Heras, St. Xavier's College, Bombay	315
2. Lt.-Col. H. Bullock, Rawalpindi	315
3. Sardar Sahib Ch. Labh Singh of Kahuta (Rawalpindi)	316
4. Dr. Hifzur Rahman, Lahore	316
5. Mr. Hadi Hussain, Lahore	317
6. S. Amolak Singh, Lahore	317
7. Principal Mohammad Shafi, Lahore	317
8. Khan Bahadur A. R. Chughtai, Lahore	317
9. Sada Jawani Pharmacy, Lahore	317
10. Mr. Ganda Singh, Khalsa College, Amritsar	318
11. S. Maharaj Chand, Amritsar	321
12. Rai Bahadur S. Jwala Sahai Misra, Amritsar	321
13. Mr. Bashir Ahmad Khan, Bukhtyar, Amritsar	321
14. L. Gokal Chand, Amritsar	321
15. Meer Fazal-us-Samad, Amritsar	321
16. Dr. A. M. Daula, M.A., Ph.D., Ludhiana	321
17. Raja Bashir Ahmad Khan, Gujarat	322

	PAGE.
18. Pirji Abdul Rashid Sahib, Panipat	322
19. Pirji Baqaullah Sahib, Panipat	322
20. Sayid Abul Qasim Sahib, Panipat	322
21. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., Monghyr	322
22. Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sahib, Delhi	323
23. Pirji Abdul Razzaq Sahib, Dujana House, Delhi	323
24. Mr. Muhammad Munavvar-ud-Din, Küche Chelan, Delhi	324
25. Munshi Ganesh Lal Khara, Delhi	324
26. Mr. H. R. Mohsini, M.A., New Delhi	326
27. Mr. Ikramullah Khan, Lathwali Haveli, Delhi	326

HISTORICAL EXHIBITION.

Organised in connection with the fourteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission in the Central Museum, Lahore,
December 13—16, 1937.



1st Row :—Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Secretary. Dr. G. L. Chopra, Local Officer. Mr. R. R. Sethi. K. B. Abdul Qadir Khan.
2nd Row :—Dr. Hifzur-Rahman. Mr. Muhammad Sadullah. Mr. B. N. Banerji. Mr. A. L. Kumar.
3rd Row :—

**Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, Paintings, Seals and Coins, etc.,
exhibited at Lahore in connection with the fourteenth Annual Meeting
of the Indian Historical Records Commission, December 1937.**

From the Imperial Record Department.

1. Geographical Sketches of the Punjab. (For. Misc. Vol. No. 206.)
2. Introduction of postage stamps in supersession of the system of money payments. (Pub. Con. 18 Mar. 1853, No. 1 ; 1 Jul. 1853, Nos. 1—3 ; 12 May, 1854, Nos. 44-45 ; 19 May 1854, No. 64.)
3. Proclamation issued by Nana Sahib to incite the Indian troops during the Mutiny, 1857, together with translation received from Mr. Wynyard, the then Judge at Gorakhpur. (Pub. Con. 7 Aug. 1858, No. 137.)
4. Royal Act of Amnesty, Pardon and Oblivion which by Command of the Queen has been proclaimed to the people of India. (Pub. Con. 26 Nov. 1858, Nos. 75—92.)
5. Proclamation of the assumption of the Government in India by the Queen. (Pub. Con. 5 Nov. 1858, Nos. 1—8, 11-12 & 49.)
6. Lord Auckland's minute on the promotion of education among the natives of India. (G. G.'s. Pub. Con. 24 Nov. 1839, No. 10.)
7. Copy of the minute of the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay on native education. (Pub. Con. 7 Mar. 1835, No. 15.)
8. Original notes and minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General, the Hon. A. Ross and the Hon. Lt.-Col. W. Morrison, C. B., Members of the Supreme Council, and Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government of India in the General Department [there are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr. Prinsep's minute by the Hon. T. B. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, Member of the Supreme Council.] (Pub. Con. 7 Mar. 1835, No. 19 & KW.)
9. Indigenous method of manufacturing paper in the Himalayan tracts (Nepal, etc.) in the early part of the 19th century. (Pol. Con. 13 Jan. 1832, Nos. 18-20.)
10. Report on the method of bleaching paper manufactured at Darjeeling by Dr. W. B. O'Shangnessy, M.D., Chemical Examiner of Calcutta, in the early part of the 19th century. (Pol. Con. 29 Nov. 1841, No. 147.)
11. Plan for establishing a route for mail from India to England via the Red Sea. (Pol. Con. 11 Sep. 1812, Nos. 7-9.)

From the Imperial Record Department—contd.

12. Origin, progress and present state of the Pindaris and the Mahrattas, 1811-21. (For. Misc. Vol. No. 124.)
13. Trade of the Native States in India with the United Kingdom of Great Britain placed on the same footing with certain exceptions as that of the British possessions in the East Indies. (For. Con. 25 Nov. 1853, Nos. 39-41.)
14. Specimen of gold found on the sands of the Indus. (For. Con. 11 Oct. 1850, Nos. 92-96.)
15. Capture of Peshawar by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. [For. Dept. (Oct.) Con. 27 Jun. 1834, No. 1.]
16. Copy of a letter from Maharaja Ranjit Singh to the Right Hon'ble George Auckland congratulating the latter on his appointment as Governor-General of India. (Pol. Con. 3 Oct. 1836, Nos. 25-6.)
17. Expenses incurred in completing the *khilats* given by the Governor-General to Maharaja Ranjit Singh's envoys. (Pol. Con. 22 July 1831, Nos. 23-24.)
18. Reports the arrival of an Italian named Signior Catchioli at Ranjit Singh's court for service. (Pol. Con. 4 Nov. 1831, No. 19.)
19. Treaty with King Christian VIII of Denmark for transferring the Danish settlements in India to the English, dated 22 Feb. 1845.
20. Mr. H. T. Prinsep's narrative of Alexander's expedition to India. *circa* 1842. (For. Misc. Records. No. 346.)
21. Restoration of the Danish settlements on the Coromandel Coast. (For. Con. 6 Jul. 1861, Nos. 1-2.)
22. General Order by the Rt. Hon. the Governor-General in Council expressing his Lordship's admiration and applause for the splendid achievements of the army under the Command of H. E. Sir Samuel Auchmuty, the Commander-in-Chief of the expedition against the French power in Java, and congratulating the native troops of the Bengal Army who had distinguished themselves by their valour in the most trying scenes of the war ; announcing the commemoration of the victory by the distribution of medals to troops and by erecting at the Governor-General's own expense a memorial to those who fell gloriously in the war. (Pol. Con. 15 Feb. 1812, Nos. 2-3.)
23. Addresses presented to H. E. the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, by the Rajas of the Punjab and the Chiefs of Peshawar on the occasion of his visit to those places in 1859 together with the printed English translations. (For. Misc. Vol. No. 384.)

From the Imperial Record Department--contd.

24. Copy of a Letter Patent from His Majesty (King George III) under the Privy Seal, dated the 7th August 1800, constituting and appointing His Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess Wellesley to be His Majesty's Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of all his land forces serving in the East Indies. (Pub. Con. 26 Feb. 1801, No. 1.)
25. Translation of a petition from certain merchants of Kabul, the Punjab, Multan, etc., to the Resident at Benares praying that the Collector of the Sannyasi Custom House at Benares may be directed to collect duties on raw silk, silk piece-goods and shawls at the same rates as in the case of the Sannyasi and Iraki Merchants. (Pub. Con. 26 Mar. 1788, No. 3.)

Repair of old Manuscripts and Books.

- 26 & 27. Manuscripts illustrating the evil of using white tracing paper in repairing important documents. (Pub. Con. 29 Jul. 1791, No. 11.) The tracing papers were subsequently peeled off and replaced by *mousseline de soie* (chiffon). (Pub. Con. 26 Aug. 1789, No. 4.)
28. Annals of the College of Fort William, by R. Roebuck, Calcutta, 1819. A fine specimen of inlaying work. This book was hopelessly damaged by larvae and had almost become a solid mass of paper, which was specially treated, before every page of it could be inlaid, gathered and bound up in a very skilful and scientific way.

Persian Documents.

29. Impressions of the Seals of the Governors-General. (Pers. Misc. No. 39.)
30. From Bahu Begam, mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah. Complaints against the behaviour of her son. Seeks the assistance of the Governor-General in sending the coffin of her late husband (Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah) to Karbala. (15 Nov. 1778, No. 117.)
31. From Mirza Ghulam Uraiz Jafari and Muhammad Baqirul Husaini, sons of Nawab Mir Qasim Ali Khan, to Mons. Chevalier. State that their father died of dropsy at Shahjahanabad on the last day of *Rabi-II* 1191 A. H. (7th June 1777) in great misery. Beg his support and protection. Desire to see him personally but being penniless they are unable to do so. Request monetary help to enable them to wait on him. Bears the seal of Mirza Ghulam Uraiz Jafari. (25 Dec. 1778, No. 164.)
32. From Mir Murtaza Khan (Mir Saidu), a grandson of Mir Jafar Ali Khan. Says that a sum of Rs. 5,000 was fixed for his monthly

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.***Persian Documents—*contd.***

allowance when he was young and had no encumbrances. Now that he is a married man he requests the Governor-General to increase his allowance in order to enable him to meet his enhanced expenses. Bears the seal of the Khan. (22 Feb. 1779, No. 29.)

- 33. A representation from the inhabitants of Benares saying that they have nothing to complain against Capt. Hawkin and that they desire that the Captain may continue to reside in their midst. Bears the seals and signatures of the prominent citizens of the town. (12 May 1785, No. 17.)
- 34. From His Majesty Shah Alam. Commands the Governor-General to send military aid for the suppression of the Rohillas. On the top is the King's autograph in *pencil*. (4 Oct. 1787, No. 503.)
- 35. From Saiyid Akbar Ali Khan, reporting the sudden death of Prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah. (12 Jun. 1788, No. 343.)
- 36. From Ali Ibrahim Khan, Judge at Benares. Reports that the Mahrattas have released Shah Alam from the room in which he was confined by Ghulam Qadir Khan after having been blinded by him. (24 Oct. 1788, No. 501.)
- 37. From Haidar Beg Khan, a minister of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah. Expresses pleasure at the recovery of the King of England from his illness. Sends a *nazar* of 101 gold mohurs to be forwarded to the King of England and Rs. 10,000 to be distributed among the poor. Bears the seal of Haidar Beg Khan. (11 Aug. 1789, No. 175.)
- 38. From His Majesty Shah Alam. Has learnt from the Governor-General's letter that he is leaving for Madras with a view to punishing Tipu for his having invaded Travancore, the territory of an ally of the English. Bears the seal of His Majesty. (8 Mar. 1790, No. 50.)
- 39. From Tipu Sultan. In reply to the Governor-General's offer to send to the Sultan's camp the corpse of Bahadur Khan who fell fighting gallantly at Bangalore, says that the body may be handed to the local Mussalmans for burial. Bears the seal of the Sultan. (23 Mar. 1791, No. 78.)
- 40. From Munni Begam. Sends a letter to Sir John Shore for transmission to Warren Hastings congratulating the latter on the occasion of his acquittal from impeachment. Bears the Begum's seal. (5 Nov. 1795, No. 312.)
- 41. From Maharaja Siwai Partab Singh to Colonel Murray. Informs him that Capt. Murray has gone to the *Mela* of Bhakkarji and to

From the Imperial Record Department—*concl.***Persian Documents—*concl.***

Chandghari to buy horses. Written in characteristic *shikastah* style. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (25 Nov. 1795, No. 359.)

42. From Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia. Says that by order of the Peshwa he seized and imprisoned Nana Farnavis on 12 *Rajab* (31 Dec. 1797). Bears the Maharaja's seal. (5 Feb. 1798, No. 88.)
43. From Maharaja Krishna Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. Expresses his gratitude to the Governor-General on being released from his confinement and placed on the *masnad* of his ancestors after the victory of the English over Tipu at Seringapatam. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (12 Jul. 1799, No. 198.)
44. From the Raja of Nepal. Congratulates the Governor-General on the success of the English fleet at Egypt. Has noted with pleasure that the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar of Russia have joined the English as active allies. Bears the Raja's seal. (28 Dec. 1799, No. 286.)
45. From Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Ruler of Lahore. Expresses his gratification and thanks the Governor-General for the award of a *Khilat* of five pieces together with a pearl necklace, *sarpech*, etc., to him. Written in characteristic *shikasta* style. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (23 Jun. 1801, No. 371.)
46. From Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Ruler of Lahore. Says that in accordance with the Governor-General's wishes the Maharaja will accord every possible assistance to Mr. Elphinstone when the latter passes through his territory on his way back from Peshawar. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (28 July 1809, No. 400.)
47. From Raja Bhim Singh of Jodhpur. Promises not to give protection in his country to Vazir Ali Khan and his associates who had murdered Mr. Cherry. Bears the seal of the Raja. (1 Jul. 1799, No. 174.)

From the Government of Bengal.

48. Select Committee—Letter Copy Book 1767. pp. 8—9. Copy of a letter, dated the 3rd March 1767, to Col. Sir Robert Barker intimating the movements of Ahmad Shah Abdali near Lahore.
49. Revenue Dept. O. C. No. 30 of the 4th April 1777. Autograph Minute of Sir P. Francis on the institution of the office of the Amini Daftar.

From the Government of Bengal—concl.

50. Revenue Dept. Judicial O. C. No. 33 of the 3rd December 1790.
(Copy)—Administration of Justice in Bengal.
51. Judicial Dept. Civil Branch O. C. No. 16 of the 12th August 1817.
Autograph Minute of the Marquis of Hastings on the Judicial Administration in Bengal.
52. Judicial Dept. Criminal Branch O. C. Nos. 18—19 of the 29th December 1826. Slavery in India—Both are holograph Minutes of Lord Amherst.
53. Judicial Dept. Criminal Branch O. C. Nos. 14, 16, 17, 19, 26 and 27 of the 6th March 1928. *Sati*.
54. Judicial Dept. Criminal Branch O. C. No. 10 of 4th December 1829.
Autograph Minute of Lord William Bentinck on the abolition of the practice of Sati.
55. General Dept. O. C. Nos. 70, 72, 73 and 79 of the 6th March 1850, on the subject of the escort of Moolraj, Diwan of Multan, his Sirdars, Chuttor Singh, Sher Singh, Lall Singh, Mahatab Singh, Hakir Rao, Kishan Kaur, Urjjan Singh, State prisoners in the battle of Multan, from Lahore on the 2nd January 1850, after the fall of Fort Multan in 1849.
56. General Dept. O. C. No. 85 of the 6th March 1850, on the subject of removal of Guru Bhai Maharaj Singh, another State prisoner from Lahore.
57. General Dept. O. C. Nos. 19-20 of the 20th March 1850, on the subject of the removal of Guru Bhai Maharaj Singh, another State prisoner from the Punjab.
58. Proceedings of the Select Committee, 1758, page 53. Letter from Luke Scrafton containing a reference to the conquest of Lahore by the Marathas in 1758 and its effect on the affairs at Delhi.

From the Punjab Record Office.*Paintings*

59. Lord Metcalfe at Delhi, 1804.
60. Dewan Rattan Chand Dhariwala.
61. Fakir Sayed Nur-ud-Din.
62. Nadir Shah.
63. Muhammad Tughlaq.
64. Pandit Madho Sudanji.
65. The Hon'ble Sir Frederick Currie, Bart.

From the Punjab Record Office—*contd.**Paintings—concl'd.*

- 66. Lt.-Col. Sir C. M. Wade.
- 67. Sir George Russel Clerk.
- 68. A Punjab cultivator going to the field in the morning.
- 69. Sikh Akalies.
- 70. Lt.-Col. Sir David Ochterlony.
- 71. King Bahadur Shah of Delhi.
- 72. Maharaja Sher Singh.
- 73. Sardar Tej Singh.
- 74. Auspicious Star of the Punjab : Medals instituted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
- 75. Durhani Order medal instituted by Shah Shujja-ul-Mulk.
- 76. Three prints of the Expedition to Kangra (1847).
- 77. The Monument at Panipat.
- 78. Lord Irwin's visit to Lahore. Two sets of photographs. (1926).
- 79. Ibrahim Lodi's Tomb at Panipat.
- 80. Multan types.
- 81. General Sir Charles Napier (1849).
- 82. North-east view of the Qudsia Bagh on the river Jumna.
- 83. View at Delhi near the Mausoleum of Humayun.
- 84. George Thomas.
- 85. Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Durbar at the Lahore Fort (with key)—enlarged from Schaff's painting of 1844.
- 86. Two Mutiny Albums.
- 87. Hardinge's recollections of India.

Twenty Sketches of Lahore and Amritsar by an officer's wife—Lithograph by Dickinson, 1854.

- 88. A Street in the City (1854).
- 89. Entrance to the Shah's Masjid from the Hazuri Bagh.
- 90. The Shah's Masjid and Walls of Lahore.
- 91. The Holy Temple (1854).
- 92. Anarkullie from the Mooltan Road (1854).
- 93. Biram Singh's Tomb (1854).

From the Punjab Record Office—contd.

Twenty Sketches of Lahore and Amritsar by an officer's wife—Lithograph by Dickinson, 1854—concl.

94. Ruin of a Gateway on the Road to Mooltan (1854).
95. The Fort of Govindghur near Amritsar (1854).
96. Entrance to the Vizier's Masjid (1854).
97. Fragment of Old Moghul Palace (1854).
98. A Portion of Runjeet's Palace (1854).
99. Tomb of Runjeet Singh built on the place where his body was burnt with four wives and seven female slaves (1854).
100. The Akalee Temple (1854).
101. Sonowlee Masjid or Golden Temple (1854).
102. View of the Sheish Mahal or Palace of Glass.
103. Entrance to the Holy Temple at Amritsar from the Gate of the Kutwallee (1854).
104. Minarets of the Vizier's Masjid (1854).
105. A Sikh Temple in honour of Baba Attull Rai, youngest son of Har Govind, 6th in descent of the Sikh Gurus (1854).
106. The Kutwallee from the borders of the Tank (1854).
107. Lahore from the Old Race Course. On this plain Ranjit Singh used to review his troops (1854).

Eight Sketches of Indian Types—Miss Eden, 1844.

108. Dhulloo and Dedar Khan. Jemadars (Head Servants).
109. Maharaja Hindoo Rao, a Mahratta Prince residing at Delhi.
110. A Group of Tibet Tartars.
111. Lord Auckland receiving the Rajah of Nahun in Durbar in his Tent.
112. A Shootr-Suwar, an attendant in an Indian Camp.
113. Anund Musseh, a converted Hindoo, and Raja of Nahun and his sons.
114. Cheetas sent by the King of Oude to accompany the Governor-General.
115. A Young Native of Rank at Calcutta, a student at the Hindoo College and a child of one of the servants of Government House.

From the Punjab Record Office—contd.*Four Engravings from sketches by Hardinge, 1847.*

116. Dalip Singh.
117. Lal Singh.
118. Lahore Fort.
119. The Huzuri Bagh.
120. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore—Coloured print by Carpenter, 1850.
121. Interview of Ranjit Singh and Shah Zaman at Shahlamar—1799
(Coloured painting by an Indian artist).

Sketches of Indian Types—Miss Eden, 1844. (16 Pictures).

122. Ranjit Singh.
123. Horse and Jewels of Ranjit Singh.
124. Dost Mahomed Khan and part of his family.
125. The Maharaja Shere Singh.
126. A Young Hill Raja.
127. A Guard of the Raja of Patiala and two of his dwarfs.
128. Attendants on the Raja Khurruk Singh.
129. Servants with dogs and hawks belonging to the King of Oude.
130. Fakir attached to the suite of the Governor-General's Camp.
131. Two Arab followers of the late Sir A. Burnes, who accompanied him to Simla.
132. A Zemindar or farmer of the Upper Province and a Pathan, a famous wrestler.
133. Purtaub Singh.
134. Raja Heera Singh.
135. The Raja of Patiala on his State Elephant.
136. A Hindoo Fakir.
137. Akalees.

Set of coloured sketches of the storming of Ghazni and Kelat, 1839. By Lieutenant Wingate. Lithographs by Taylor. (7 Pictures).

138. Outlying Piquet.
139. Prison of Hadjee Khan at Cabool.
140. The March across the Marshy Desert.
141. Forces at Ghuznee.
142. Fortress of Ghuznee.
143. Outside of Gate—morning after the Action.
144. Storming Kelat, 17th Advancing.

From the Punjab Record Office—concl.

Set of coloured sketches of the storming of Ghazni and Kelat, 1839. By Lieutenant Wingate. Lithographs by Taylor. (7 Pictures)—contd.

145. Entry of Shah Soojah into Cabool.
146. Prisoners in Citadel Ghuznee.
147. 17th entering the Fortress of Ghuznee.
148. Inside of Gateway—Ghuznee.
149. 17th entering the Citadel.
150. Fortress of Kelat.
151. Interior of Zenana.

From H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad.

Paintings.

152. A Mughal Emperor visiting a tomb. 16th century. The style appears to be of the Persian School. Contains two lines on its reverse written in elegant Thulth.
153. Jehangir attended by his courtiers and seated under a canopy in a garden. A genuine specimen of the high level of Mughal art attained by the Jehangir School of Painting.
154. A Nobleman on horse. An excellent example of Mughal art of the latter half of the 17th century.
155. A Royal Snake Charmer. 19th century. A prince is controlling cobras with a magic wand.
156. The prince (same as in No. 155) striking at a crab. 19th century.
157. The force of charms. A prince (from Nagaloka) is patting two cobras.
158. A Royal Snake Charmer. This is like No. 155 and differs only in back-ground. The dark back-ground lends a dreadful appearance to the scene. 19th century.
159. A Prince paying homage to a Saint. 19th century.
160. A Rider. A European soldier seated on a well-groomed horse. 19th century.
161. A Prince. A beautiful bust of a Mughal nobleman. 19th century.
162. A Nobleman. An excellent portrait of a Mughal dignitary. 19th century.
- 163-164. Ragas. These are representations of two different ragas or musical tunes. No. 163 is that of the *Asawari* rag generally sung in the early hours of the morning. Its harmonising effect has charmed all animate and inanimate nature. 19th century.

From H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad—concl.

Specimens of Calligraphy.

165. Shikastah Script (reverse Nastaliq Script).
166. Quotation from Holy Quran (Extracts from " Banat Su-al " on the reverse). Contains quotations from the Holy Quran and other Persian and Arabic verses. Holy text is at some places written in gold. The reverse contains quotations from *Ahadis* and extracts from the famous Ode " Banat Su-al " written by Ghouse in 1239 A. H. At the bottom there is a piece attached written in Shikastah.
- 167 and 168. Tughra and Nashkh. These two pieces must have formed one portfolio. The first page which bears Ismail's name has got " Bismillah " written in Tughra. The second and third pages which have similar illuminations are very good specimens of Nashkh of a high order. The fourth page has got the problem of the Sufis illustrated.
169. Nastaliq Script. A fine specimen of calligraphy written by Rahmulla Husain Tirmizi and Ghulam Mustafa Khan, etc., in Nastaliq script of a very good order.

From the Gwalior State.

Old Hand Paintings.

170. Empress Nur Jehan.
171. Amarchand Bhatia.
172. Prithvi Raj Chauhan.
173. Baji Rao Peshwa 2nd.
174. A lady worshipping God Shiva.
175. Umrao Singh Rathod.
176. Shrimant Mahadji Scindia.
177. Shrimant Daulat Rao Scindia.
178. Shrimant Jankoji Rao Scindia.
179. Hajrat Moulana Maija Saheb.
180. Nadir Shah of Kabul.

Impressions.

181. Impression of an inscription on Udaigiri Cave of a Minister of Chandra Gupta II.
182. Impression of an inscription of King Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj. (9th century A. D.)

From the Gwalior State—concl.*Impressions*—concl.

183. Impression of Mandasor inscription of the reign of Kumar Gupta I.
(437 A. D.)
184. Impression of Mandasor inscription of the reign of Nara Varman, a king of Malwa. (403 A. D.)

Letters in Original.

185. Letter of Lord Metcalfe, dated 28th July 1814, regarding the appointment of Raja Kanwal Nayan Bahadur as a Vakil.
186. Letter from Setan Resident, Delhi, dated 3rd January 1810, regarding the appointment of Mohammed Mir Khan as a Vakil.
187. Letter of Lord Lake, dated 1st November 1805, corresponding to Shaban 1220 A. H., regarding a letter of Nawab Governor General to Daulat Rao Scindia Maharaj.

From the Kapurthala State.

188. Ain-i-Akbari.
189. A collection of 8 Persian poetical works.
190. Khamsa-i-Nizami.
191. Shahnameh.
192. Amir Khusru's Ishqiyaa.
193. Kuliat-i-Sa'adi.
194. Diwan-i-Hafiz.

From the Jodpur State.

- 195—201. Letters from Maharaja Abhayasinghji of Marwar to his agent at the Court of Delhi giving accounts of his subduing Bikaner and Maratha chiefs :—

- (i) Dated Mangsir Sudi 7, V. S. 1790 (2nd December 1733 A.D.), stating that the city of Bikaner has been captured and the fort is under siege and that they will soon march for Ahmedabad as desired by the Nawab (Khan Dauran).
- (ii) Dated Phagun Sudi 10, V. S. 1790 (3rd March 1734 A.D.), stating that the Bikaner Darbar has offered allegiance to them, promised to pay twelve lacs of rupees as indemnity and to serve the Jodhpur Darbar whenever necessary with all the resources of the State. Out of the above twelve lacs eight lacs will be paid in instalments in cash and for the rest the districts of Kharbaji and Sarunda will be handed over to Jodhpur. States that they have been

From the Jodhpur State—contd.

camping at Nagpur. Jaisinghji, the ruler of Amber (Jaipur), has also asked for help against the Marhatta invaders. Requests an enquiry to be made from the Nawab (Khan Dauran) whether they should go to Ahmedabad or defend Ajmer and Amber against the enemy. Their forces have already driven the enemy away from Ahmedabad and are reinforcing their contingent there by ten thousand cavalry.

- (iii) Dated Magh Badi 8, V. S. 1787 (20th January 1731 A.D.), stating that Bajirao and Chimna have crossed the Mahi along with forty thousand cavalry and Kautha, Pilu, Uda and Tryambak Rao have reached Surat with a large army. Though the Nawab (Khan Dauran) has not made any arrangement to face the enemy yet they will have to do so to save the position.
- (iv) Dated Chaitra Sudi 14, V. S. 1787 (10th April 1731 A.D.). complaining against the betrayal of Nizam-ul-mulk for passing on original letters of the Emperor Bangash and of the Maharaja himself to Bajirao.
- (v) Dated second Bhadon Sudi 3, V. S. 1787 (4th September 1730 A.D.), stating that on second Bhadon Badi 13 (30th August) Sarbuland, the Governor of Gujrat, has reached Sarkhej. He has brought the imperial artillery and intends to carry it away with him. If he does so he will meet due punishment.
- (vi) Dated Bhadon Badi 1, V. S. 1789 (27th July 1327 A.D.), stating that though the scarcity of grain and fodder was great yet they have freed Gujrat from the Maharatta invasions, captured Baroda along with 24 fortresses and killed the formidable Pilu. It was all done by their own men of whom five thousand cavalry belonged to the Ajmer district and the rest to Marwar. They all are serving for the last three years and the arrears of their pay have reached thirty laes but nothing has been done by the Nawab (Khan Dauran) as yet. If the Nawab will not fulfil his promise they will leave this province and return after a pilgrimage to Dwarka.
- (vii) Dated Jeth Badi 9, V. S. 1787 (18th May 1731 A.D.), Requests to inform the Nawab (Khan Dauran) that they have induced Baji Rao to offer allegiance to the imperial authority, punished Sarbuland, the Governor of Gujrat.

From the Jodhpur State—concl.

defeated the hosts of Tryambak Rao, Asaf Jah, Pilu and Panvar Anand Rao while Jaisinghji (of Amber) could neither punish even Malhar Rao Holkar, a servant of Bajirao, nor save the province of Ujjain from the Maharatta plunder but was obliged to pay ten lacs of rupees to the invaders.

202. A letter of Rajadhiraj Bhakhatsinghji of Nagaur to the Agent of Jodhpur Darbar at the Court of Delhi, dated Kartik Sudi 4, V. S. 1789 (12th October 1732 A.D.), stating that Nagaur has been bestowed on him by his elder brother (Maharaja Abhayasinghji). Hence he sees no reason why the Nawab (Khan Dauran) should insist on him to leave for Gujerat.

From the Kolhapur State (through Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Kolhapur).
Bavada Records.

203. The grant of Jijabai, mother of Shivaji, with her Persian seal.
204. Letters of Shivaji bearing his autographs and the seal Mortab.
205. Two letters of Shivaji bearing his famous seal containing the Sanskrit verse.
206. Original sanads from Sambhaji and others.
207. Original sanads from Rajaram.
208. Original document containing the autographs and seals of the chief men of Rajaram's time.

Kolhapur Records.

209. Original autograph letter of Shahu Raja of Satara.

Mudhol Records.

210. Firman by Ala-ud-din Hassan Ganga in 1352 to Rana Dilip Singh.
211. Firman in 1367 to Rana Sidhoji of Mudhol.
212. Firman of Sultan Ahmad Shah to Rana Ugrasen in 1424.
213. Muhammad Shah's Firman to Bhimsen in 1471.
214. Firman to Rana Khelaji in 1491.
215. Firman to Shahaji Bhonsle, father of Shivaji, in 1646.
216. Firman from Najaf Shah to Raja Maloji in 1670.
217. Plan of the city of Bijapur—Bijapur Museum.
218. Malikh-Ambar—Bijapur Museum.
219. Chand Bibi—Bijapur Museum.
220. Madana of Golconda—From Manucci.
221. Madana, Prime Minister of Hyderabad. Baroda Museum.
222. Afzal Khan.

**From the Kolhapur State (through Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Kolhapur)—
concl'd.
Mudhol Records—concl'd.**

- 223. Bajirao Peshwa.
- 224. Poet Bhushan in the court of Shivaji.
- 225. Baji Raje Ghorpade from Aundh.
- 226. Sanibhaji of Satara from Aundh.
- 227. Shahu' of Satara, son of Sambhaji.
- 228. Aurangzeb going in a palki, from Mudhol.
- 229. A Maratha soldier in armour (Akalkot).
- 230. Bichhwa or dagger. Waghnakh or Tiger's claw (Akalkot).
- 231. Shahu's sword (From Akalkot)..
- 232. Shivaji's birth place at Shivaneri Fort.
- 233. A view of the Shivaneri Fort.
- 234. Prithiviraj in his seraglio. Delhi Fort Museum.
- 235. Aurangzeb's encounter with a furious elephant. Delhi Fort Museum.
- 236. Siege of Golkonda by Aurangzeb. Delhi Fort Museum.
- 237. Darbar of Shah Jahan. Delhi Fort Museum.
- 238. Darbar of Taimur. Delhi Fort Museum.
- 239. Painting of Sher Afghan Khan. Delhi Fort Museum.
- 240. 170(?)—Grant of Jijabai, mother of Shivaji, with her Persian seal.
- 241. Letters of Shivaji bearing the autograph letters with each seal.
- 242. Letters of Shivaji. 72 & 73(?) bear his memorable seal at the top of the letter.
- 243. Original sanads with seals from Sambhaji and others.
- 244. Original sanads from Rajaram.
- 245. Arbitration Deed by Panchayat bearing autographs and seals of the members present.

From the Mayurbhanj State.

- 246-251. Copper Plates :—

- (i) Kesri copper plate grant of Mahârâjadhirâja Satru Bhanja Deva of the Bhanja dynasty of Mayurbhanj. 10th and 11th century A.D.
- (ii) Adipur copper plate grant of Narendra Bhanja Deva. 10th and 11th century A.D.
- (iii) Copper plate grant of Kiug Sabhakara Deva of the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa. 9th century A.D.
- (iv) Copper plate grant of Queen Dandî Mahadevi of the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa—(Härṣa era 287 ?) 9th century A.D.

From the Mayurbhanj State—concl.

- (v) Copper plate grant of Jayavarmadeva, a feudatory of the Unmatta-Kesari-Deva of the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa.
- (vi) Bilingual—Oriya and Persian—copper plate grant of the Birakisora Deva of the Khurdha Family of Orissa. 18th century A.D.

252. A stone seal representing a conch with Brâhmî inscription of the 2nd century A.D. from Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhanja Dynasty of Mayurbhanj.

253. Quartz and cornelian beads from Khiching.

254-256. Palm leaf manuscripts :—

- (i) Illustrated palm leaf manuscript with 100 pictures drawn on both the sides of each leaf. 17th century.
- (ii) Palm leaf manuscript dealing with the history of the Mayurbhanj State. 18th century A.D.
- (iii) Palm leaf manuscript dealing with the boundary of the Mayurbhanj State. 1132 sal. corresponding to 1732 A.D.

257-262. Paper Sanads :—

- (i) Sanad of Mahârâja Krisna Bhanja Deva.
- (ii) Sanad of Mahârâja Sarvesvara Bhanja Deva.
- (iii) Sanad of Mahârâja Raghunâtha Bhanja Deva.
- (iv) Sanad of Mahârâja Chakradhara Bhanja Deva.
- (v) Sanad of Mahârâja Dâmodara Bhanja Deva.
- (vi) Sanad of Mahârâja Jadunâtha Bhanja Deva.

263. Photograph of a Bengali letter dated 23rd September 1803 from the Magistrate of Midnapore and one of the Commissioners of Orissa to Mahanta Bikramananda Deva Goswami of Gopiballabhpur in connection with the negotiation of the British authorities with the then ruler of Mayurbhanj State.

264. A Kaithi document of 1833 dealing with the history of Mayurbhanj State.

265-270. Photographs of temples at Khiching :—

- (i) Kutaisundi temple before conservation.
- (ii) Kutaisundi temple after conservation.
- (iii) Chandrasekhara temple before conservation.
- (iv) Chandrasekhara temple after conservation.
- (v) Door frame of the Great Temple at Khiching.
- (vi) Pillars after restoration.

From the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

271. Panorama of the City of Lahore.
272. Old Persian Map of the Grant Trunk Road from Delhi to Kandahar.
273. Letter dated the 21st July 1863 from Bharpur Singh, Rajah of Nabha, to Lord Elgin, presenting a dala of fruits, etc.

From the Calcutta Madrasah, Illuminated Manuscripts.

274. Nizamis' Khusrav-o-Shirin.
275. Qissatul-Jawahir (illustrated).
276. Masnavi-i-Moulana Room.
277. Diwan-i-Jami.
278. Gulistan with Bostan on the margin. (From the Library of the East Indian Company) transcribed in 1213 A.H.—1798 A.D.
279. Khamsa-i-Nizami (illustrated).
280. Tawarikh-i-Kashmir by Khawaja Azam transcribed by Mohammed Qanungo in 1066 A.H.—1655 A.D.

From the Dacca University, Manuscripts Section.

- 281-286. Six Sanskrit manuscript sale-deeds of slaves in Bengal (1450 A.D. Cir. to 1810 A.D.) :—3 barks 18" by 3" ; 2 old papers 6" by 5" ; one a big-sized half foolscap.
287. One judicial opinion of Pandits regarding the position of slaves and the extent of the authority of masters over slaves—in reply to a reference made by Sadar Dewani Adalat.
- 288 289. A nishan of Shah Shuja in a very tattered condition with an old copy of the same in fairly good condition. This is somewhat unique, recording the increase of assignment for supply of Kosa or war-boats by Ibrahim Khan, Zamindar of Sarail, apparently a son or grandson of the famous Sona Ghazi of Sarail (*vide* Baharisthan), who with his navy so effectually helped the Mughals against Usman. This is a very recent acquisition.
290. A family genealogy (rather modern) tracing the descent of Sarail Zamindars from a branch of the Agartala Raj ; 32" by 16" only with patches of writing ; copy, 18" by 10".

From the Punjab University Library.

291. Miratul'alam by Bakhtawar Khan.
292. Jami-ut-Tawarikh by Rashid-ud-Din Fazl Ullah.
293. Tirazul Akhbar by Ahmad Beg Isfahani.
- 294-295. Tuzuk-i-Baburi, 2 copies.
296. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.
297. Chahar Gulzar Shujai by Harcharan Das.

From the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore.

Paintings.

Board No. 1 (Early Jahangir Period).

298. Elephant Fight.

299. Three Maidens.

300. Princess with five attendants.

301. Shab-i-Wasal.

302. Music inside palace.

303. The bathing pool.

Board No. 2 (Rajput Moghuls).

304. A Tulip.

305. The Well.

306. The Princess with attendants.

307. Shab-i-Barat.

308. The Return of Rama of Ayuodhya. (Late 17th century—Mandi School.)

309. The Return of Rama from Lanka.

Board No. 3 (Rajput Moghuls—late Jahangir or Shahjahan period).

310. The terrace.

311. The bathers.

312. Baz Bahadur and Roop Mati.

313. Shiva Pooja.

Board No. 4 (Kangra—late 18th century).

314. Krishna and Gopis at Dwarka.

315. Radha's toilet.

316. Illustrations from the season (before the rains).

317. Illustrations of the season (Holi).

318. Princess hawking.

319. Sussi and Punnu.

320. Manini. (*Garhwal School*).

321. Nanda, Krishna and the Gopies by Mola Ram.

From the Khalsa College, Amritsar;

(Sikh History Research Department.)

322. Guru Granth Sahib or the Holy Scripture of the Sikhs, in Persian Script. Ms.

From the Khalsa College, Amritsar—contd.

323. Gosht Baba Nanak—Written by some follower of Meharban and Harji, descendants of Pirthia, the elder brother of Guru Arjan, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs. It includes some Shabads of Meharban and of Harji under the headings : Guru Meharban, *Mahal 7*, and Satguru Harji, *Mahal 8*. This, apparently, shows an attempt of the descendants of Pirthia to establish their Guruship.
324. Plan of the site of the Gurdwara of Guru Nanak in Baghdad drawn by Bhai Kartar Singh Kartar.
325. Hukam Namah—dated Bhadon, 1753 Bk., 1696 A.D.—granted by Guru Govind Singh to Bhai Tiloka and Rama, ancestors of the Phulkian families of Patiala, Nabha and Jind. Photograph. (Printed original with the Maharaja of Patiala).
326. Sujan Rai—Khulasa-tu-Tawarikh. Persian manuscript. History of India from the time of Yudishtir to that of Aurangzeb.
327. Muhammad Mahdi bin Muhammad Nasir Astrabadi. Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha-i-Nadiri, History of the reign of Nadir Shah.
328. Agra—Var(?) Hakikat Rai. Gurmukhi manuscript.
329. Tahmasp Khan—Tahmasp Nama or Tarikh-i-Tahmasp, Persian manuscript, 1191 A.H. = 1779 A.D. Memoirs of Thamasp Khan and his times with accounts of the invasion of Nadir Shah, Mir Mannu, Murad Begum, Zabita Khan and Najaf Khan.
330. Haqiqat-i-Bina-o-Aruj-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan—Rotograph of the copy in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. A short history of the origin and rise of the Sikhs from the time of Baba Nanak to the conquest of Multan by Taimur Shah Abdali, King of Kabul.
331. Ali-ud-Din Mufti—Ibrat Nama—Persian manuscript, 1854, in three parts :
- Part I.—Geography of the Punjab, flora, fauna, etc.
- Part II.—History and topography of Lahore from its foundation to the date of compilation.
- Part III.—History of the Sikhs from the time of Baba Nanak to the end of the First Anglo-Sikh War, and a few subsequent events down to 1849.
332. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, Persian Manuscript, 1167 A.H. A history of the reign of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah Badshah, with a detailed account of the invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali, and of the Governorship of Mir Mannu at Lahore.
333. Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, Persian Rotograph. History of Alamgir II.

From the Khalsa College, Amritsar—concl.

- 334. Nur-ud-Din Hassan, Sayyad—*Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daula*. Rotograph of the copy in the British Museum, London. History of Nawab Najib-ud-Daula Najib Khan Rohela.
- 335. Buah Singh—Risalah-i-Nanak Shah, or History of the Sikhs, Persian Rotograph written for Major James Browne in 1784.
- 336. Browne James—History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs, 1787-88.
- 337. Plan of the Darbar Sahib, 1833—Photograph from an old drawing.
- 338. Darbar Sahib during the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who is seen therein hearing the holy Guru Granth Sahib, while young Duleep Singh is playing.
- 339. Jang Namah Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, by Ram Dayal—Gurmukhi manuscript.
- 340. Pledge of the Sikh Army on the eve of the first Anglo-Sikh War, dated Asuj 12, 1902 Bk., September 25, 1845.
- 341. Hardinge, Hon'ble Charles Stewart—Recollections of India from original drawings of —, 1847. Containing portraits of Maharaja Duleep Singh, Lahore Fort, Raja Lall Singh, Gulab Singh, S. Ranjodh Singh, Diwan Dina Nath, etc., etc.
- 342. Maps of the Ludhiana District showing political divisions of the country at the outbreak of the first Sikh war, 1846. Map. No. 4.
- 343. Letters of Maharaja Duleep Singh, dated October 7, 1885, and March 9, 1886.
- 344. Plans of (Sikh) Ordnance, captured by the Army of the Sutlej under the command of H. E. the Hon'ble General Sir Hugh Gough, Bart., and H. E. the Right Hon'ble Sir Henry Hardinge, during the campaign of 1845-46, with elevations and carriages, drawn by Ralph Smyth.
- 345. Chronology of the Sikh Raj from 1794 to 1846 A.D. Gurmukhi manuscript.
- 346. Proceedings of the Secret and Political Deptt. of the East India Company, Calcutta, from 24th November to 22nd December 1786. Manuscript.
- 347. Proceedings of the Foreign Deptt. of the East India Company from 20th Sept. to 22nd Dec. 1786.
- 348. Abstracts of the Proceedings of the Public Department, East India Company, 1788. Manuscript.
- 349. Abstracts of the Proceedings of the General Department, East India Company, January—June 1786. Manuscript.
- 350. Governor General's Book of Persian Correspondence, January—June 1791.

From the " Sharadashram ", Yeotmal.

(Through Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B.)

Stone Inscriptions.

351. An impression of the inscription in Prakrit found at Kayar in Berar. It is in the Brahmi characters of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. It is an aphorism of the Jain religion.
352. An impression of the inscription in the temple of Markandeshwar at Markandi in Chanda District, C. P. It is in the Brahmi characters of the 5th century A.D.
353. An impression of the inscription in the temple of Markandeshwar at Markandi in Chanda District, C. P. It is in the Brahmi characters of the 5th century A.D.
354. An impression of the inscription in the temple of Markandeshwar at Markandi in Chanda District, C. P. It is in the Brahmi characters of the 5th century A.D.
355. An impression of the inscription in the temple of Markandeshwar at Markandi in Chanda District, C. P. It is in the Brahmi characters of the 5th century A.D.
356. An impression of the inscription in Sanskrit in the temple of Narayan Swami (the Sun god) at Jayanad in the Nizam's State. It describes that the temple was built by Queen Padmawati, wife of Jagaddeo, nephew of the famous Bhojraj of Dhar. It is of the 11th century A.D.
357. An inscription (an impression) in Marathi in the temple of Markandeshwar at Markandi in Chanda District, C. P. It records the visit of Krishna Deo Yadao of Deogiri to the temple in about 1265 A.D.
358. An impression of the inscription in Marathi in the temple of Bhadrang in Bhandak in the Chanda District, C. P. It records the reconstruction of the temple in the 14th century A.D.
359. An impression of the inscription in Sanskrit on the pedestal of a Jain statue found at Ritpur in Amraoti District, Berar. The desecration took place in 1702 A.D.

Antiquarian Finds.

- 360-363. Photos of the seals found at Mahurzari in the Nagpur District, C. P. The characters of the seals belong to the Gupta period, i.e., the 4th century A.D.
- 364-366. Photos of the views of the Markandeshwar Temple at Markandi in Chanda District, C. P. The inscriptions indicate that the age of the temple is earlier than the 5th century A.D.

From the " Sharadashram ", Yeotmal—contd.

Antiquarian Finds—concl.

367. Photo of an image of Shriram and Sitadevi unearthed recently at Mana (G. I. P.) in Akola District, Berar.
368. An impression of a copper plate unearthed at Sirsa in Akola District, Berar. It records a grant in Sanskrit by Govinda III of the Rāstrakūṭas in the 7th century A. D.
369. An impression of a copper plate found at Khamkhed in Berar. It records a grant by one Pratapshil in the 8th century A.D.

The Mughal Period.

370. Waslat (revenue statement) in 1536 A.D. giving the income of the villages in the jagir of one Kamruddin Khan in Berar.
 371. Waslat (revenue statement) in 1538 A.D. giving the income of the villages in the jagir of one Pahadsing Raje in Pargana Darwha in Berar.
 372. Dharmapatra (grant) in 1540 A.D. to one Nag Thakur of Darwha in Berar.
 373. Shasan-Patra (grant) to one Sabha Pandit of Nalegaon Dashasar in Berar in 1615 A.D. by one Hannant Rao Supekar.
 374. A copy of order by Aurangzeb in 1672 A.D. about the share in the wutan between Abdul Rasul and his Hindu brother Krishnaji Rane, deshmukhs of Darwha in Berar.
 375. Ekharsi (revenue statement) of Pargana Papal in 1681 A.D. in the reign of Aurangzeb.
 376. Ekharsi (revenue statement) of Pargana Ner Parsopant in Berar in 1696 A.D. in the reign of Aurangzeb.
 377. A sanad issued in 1620 A.D. to one Sabhapandit of Talegaon in Berar by the village officers.
 378. Ekharsi (revenue statement) of Pargana Darwha in Berar in 1686 A.D. in the reign of Aurangzeb. It is in Persian and each page of it bears the seal of Aurangzeb.
 379. Khareeta (Royal letter) issued by Daulatrao Sindia on behalf of the Peshwa as Wakil-i-Mutalik of the Emperor of Delhi to one Deokate Sardar of Semdursani in the Nizam's State.
 380. A sanad issued by Aurangzeb in 1696 A.D. with respect to the partition between Abdul Nabi and Lalji Rana, Deshmukh cousins of Darwha in Berar.
- The Nizams of Hyderabad.**
381. A sanad issued by Chinkilich Khan, the father of the founder of the Nizam's State, to one Sadawarti of Talegaon Dashasar in Berar.

From the " Sharadashram ", Yeotmal—contd.

The Nizams of Hyderabad—concl.

382. An authorized copy of the same.
383. A sanad issued by the Nizam Ali Bahadur in the reign of Emperor Shah Alam to a mahant of the Manubhaos Sect.
384. A sanad issued by the Nizam Ali Bahadur in the reign of Aurangzeb to the Kazi of Bhamb, Berar.
385. A private letter which mentions that the army of the Nizamuddin Khan Bahadur reached Udgir, the famous battle-field in the Deccan.
386. A sanad issued by Nizam Asafjah Bahadur to the Kazi of Darwha in Berar in 1818 A.D.
387. A sanad issued by Raja Chandulal, the famous divan of the Nizams, in 1837 A.D.
388. A letter of a kamavisdar of Ner Pargana in Berar throwing light on the system of collection of revenue in the early administration of the Nizams.
389. A sanad issued by the Nizam-ud-daula Nizam-ul-mulk in 1855 A.D.

The Marathas and the Rajas of Satara.

390. A Surat majlis (an award of the panchas) in 1710 A.D. settling the dispute about the shares in the watan of the Jadhao family of Sindkhed.
391. A sanad issued by Shahu Maharaj of Satara in 1708 A.D. to one Deokate, Sardar of Sandursani, in the Nizam's State.
392. Another sanad issued to the same family in 1723 by the same Rajah.
393. A sanad issued by Shahu Maharaj to one Dharmoji Balwantrao Sardar in 1723 A.D. It bears the seals of Shahu Maharaj, Bajirao Ballal Peshwa and Shriniwasrao Pant Pratinidhi.
394. An order by Shahu Maharaj to Kanhuji Bhosla of Bhamb in Berar in 1728 A.D. not to molest the Deokate Sardar.
395. Another order to the same Sardar about the watan of the Deokate family in 1728 A.D.
396. An order by Shahu Maharaj to his general Sultanji Nimbalkar in 1728 A.D.
397. An order by Shahu Maharaj to Kanhuji Bhosla of Bhamb in 1732 A.D. to continue the mukasas to the Deokate family.
398. A list of darbar expenses and nazarana required to be paid to the king, queen and the courtiers. It belongs to 1748 A.D.

From the " Sharadashram ", Yeotmal—contd.

The Marathas and the Rajas of Satara—contd.

399. A letter from Poona to Setiaji Balwantrao Deokate, informing him about the movements of Tarabai and other ladies of the royal family of Satara.
400. A letter by Balaji Bajirao Peshwa to Abaji Govind Gadre, the famous banker of the Peshwas, in 1755 A.D. farming some parganas in satisfaction of debt.
401. A letter from one Venkaji to Deokate Sardar from Poona about the settlement of accounts of Malharrao Holkar, Madhoji Sindia and other Sardars and also informing him that the Peshwa (Balaji Bajirao) was going to the Konkan.
402. An order from Chimmaji Sadasheo Sachiv, minister of the Peshwa, in 1751 A.D. for paying six per cent. of particular revenue.
403. A letter from Visaji Krishna Biniwale, a general of the Peshwa, to Setiaji Deokate Sardar. No date.
404. An order from general Visaji Krishna to Manaji Deokate to pay the darbar expenses and to be present in the army with his forces. No date.
405. A letter from Chinto Ram Wakil to Sardar Deokate informing him about the order of the Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao, to Sardars to mobilize their forces at Ahmadnagar in 1760 A.D. for sending the army in the north before the battle of Panipat.
406. Slips of the accounts of the army of Vithal Shiodeo Vinchurkar, general of the Peshwa. It includes the item of expenses for attacking the fort of the Mughals by Raghunathrao Peshwa.
407. A letter by Chinto Ram Wakil to Deokate Sardar in 1760 A.D. from the camp of the Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao, at Rakshasbhuvan near Paithan. The letter records the news of the second marriage of the Peshwa. The bride was mentioned to be 9 years old. The Peshwa died within 12 months from the date of the marriage.
408. A news letter (Holkaranchi Thaili) by Malharrao Holkar to the Peshwa, giving the details of the battle of Panipat. The copy has been written in 1801 A.D.
409. An administrative bond issued by one Raja Shioji Keshao Bahadur borrowing a lac of rupees and farming out Pargana Chincholi in satisfaction of the debt. Interest, mentioned in the bond, is rupees 2 per cent. per month.
410. An order by Madhaorao Ballal Peshwa to Manaji Deokate Sardar scolding him for being late in the campaign in the Karnatik and also for paying an amount in about 1769 A.D.

From the " Sharadashram ", Yeotmal—contd.

The Marathas and the Rajas of Satara—concl'd.

411. An order by Madhaorao Ballal Peshwa to Janoji Bhosla Raja of Nagpur to continue the mukasa of Deokate Sardar.
412. An order by Madhaorao Ballal Peshwa to Janoji Bhosla Raja of Nagpur.
413. A letter by Baburao Sadashio Sachio to one Raghupatrao Pingle about a dispute between Deokate Sardar and the Raja Udaram of Mahur in the matter of deshmukhi watan of Hingoli in the Nizam's State.
414. A copy of order of Tukoji Holkar in the matter of dispute about the Mahanubhavas.
415. A private letter of one Banoji Sate about the time of campaign against Hyder Ali of Mysore. It records the meeting of Mahadaji Sindia, Tukoji Holkar and Haripant Phade with Nana Phadnavis, Moroba Dada and Sakharam Bapu.
416. A letter by Rajah Govindrao Sindia to Sardar Manaji Deokate. It refers again about the campaign against Hyder Ali and the Poona politics, in which Moroba Dada and Tukoji Holkar were on one side and Sindia Phadke, and Raghoba Dada on the side of Nana Phadnavis.
417. Khareeta (royal order) by Madhaorao Narayan *alias* Swai Madhaorao Peshwa to the Nizam about the saranjam of Deokate Sardar. The khareeta bears the lac seal of the Peshwa.

The Rajahs of Nagpur.

418. Bakhar (Chronicle) of the family of the Nagpur Rajahs from the time of Shiwaji till the death of Raghiji III, i.e., about 1851 A.D. or so.
419. A letter by Kanhuji Bhosla of Bhamb in Berar to the Brahmins of Talegaon Dashasar stating that his army would not molest them and that they should be without anxiety. The letter is about 1731 A.D.
420. A private letter from Peshwa's camp recording the attempts of reconciliation between the Peshwa and the Rajah of Nagpur over a dispute on some mukosas. No date given.
421. An order by Raghiji Bhosla of Nagpur to the Kamavisdar of Talegaon Deshasar over a dispute with the Jaghirdar of Mangrul.
422. A letter by Raghiji Bhosla recording an award over a dispute about the meherki (leadership) of the sutars (carpenters) of Patur Shekh Babu in Berar in 1792 A.D.
423. An order of Janoji Bhosla making a grant to one Govind Bhat Joshi of Akot in 1753 A.D.

From the " Sharadashram ", Yeotmal—concl.**The Rajahs of Nagpur—concl.**

424. An order of Janoji Bhosla of Nagpur about the mukasas of the Deokate family in 1756 A.D.
425. An order by Janoji Bhosla of Nagpur to Piraji Naik Nimbalkar about the Jaghirs of Manaji Deokate in 1756 A.D.
426. A grant by Sabaji Bhosla, Rajah of Nagpur, to one Vishwanath Bhat of Ner Parsopant in Berar in 1784 A.D.
427. A letter by Venkaji Naik Pidadi, a famous banker of Chanda in the C. P. to one Ramaji Kale, equally famous banker of Karanja in Berar. It records the news of the movements of the armies of Chimna Bapu Bhosla of Nagpur and general Ganpatrao Subedar in the reign of Raghuji III in about 1803 A.D.
428. A letter by Raghuji II, Rajah of Nagpur, making a grant to one Rodbhat of Kolahpur in Berar in 1825 A.D. The sanad bears the endorsement and signature of Jenkinson, the then Political Agent of Nagpur.
429. A coin cabinet containing the coins of Sassanian kings and those of the several Bahamani kings, Mughal emperors and the Nizams, etc. They are 25 in number.
430. A Persian manuscript of Gulistan and Bostan written in the regime of Nabob Namdar Khan of Ellichpur in 1860 A.D. The manuscript is valuable for its beautiful hand writing and artful penwork.

***From Patna Museum.**

431. Tibetan painting on silk—Avalokitesvara (No. 401). Size, 4' 8" × 2' 10".
432. Tibetan painting on silk—Po-to-pa (No. 405). Size, 4' 7" × 2' 10".
433. Tibetan manuscript—Prajñāpāramitā—80 pp. (No. 233).
434. Persian manuscript—Yusuf-Zulekha—having eleven pictures (No. 234).
435. Title deeds with clay seal (No. 232). Size, 2" × 6" × 2".
436. Title deeds with clay seal (No. 218). Size, 2' 6" × 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".
437. Water colour painting—Aurangzeb (No. 572). Size, 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 1' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".
438. Water colour painting—portraying a beggar (No. 613). Size, 1' 4" × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".
439. Water colour painting—A young couple drinking wine (No. 620). Size, 1' 3" × 10'.

From Sri Mannu Lall Library, Gaya, Bihar.

440. Plan of the battle of Palamau, 1071 A.H. The town is about 100 miles from Patna and was in those days inhabited by the turbulent race of the Cheros, who even molested the Moghal territory. Aurangzeb sent his general Daud Khan to reduce the place in 1071 A.H. For detailed description please see "Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal, Vol. IV, Pages 281 to 297".
441. Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal, Vol. IV.
442. Kabala Denudata, Vol. I. Published in the year 1677.
443. Considerations on Indian affairs. Published in 1772.
444. Masnavi Makhzan-i-Asrar. Written in 1017 Hijri.
445. Quran Sharif, Punj Sura, written about 1600-1650 A.D. probably in the reign of Shah Jahan.
446. Quran Sharif, 12 feet long.

From the Museum Darul Falah, Delhi.

447. Ain-i-Akbari.
448. Diwan-i-Shams Tabrez.
449. Ab-i-Hayat Panjabi (Poetry).
450. Qissa Masud Gaiti Ara, 1198-H.
451. Siyarul Arifin, 1080-H.
452. Ghaniyatut Tallbin, by Muhyayuddin Abdul Qadir Jilani, 1924-H.
453. Masnavi Maulana Rum (with two illustrations), 1233-H.
454. Tazkaratul Auliya, by Shaikh Fariduddin Attar (Illuminated).
455. Literary collections of the family of Hazrat Shah Raza Qadri of Lahore, containing selections from Sufi Persian poets and a good specimen of different styles of calligraphy.
456. Masnavi Maulana Rum, 1104-II. (A very authentic copy).
457. Nafaisul Funun, fi Araisul Uyun, by Mohd. bin Mahmud, 1080-H.
458. Risala Muhit-i-Muarifat.
459. Fawadul Fawai, by Khawaja Nizamuddin of Delhi, 712-H.
460. Ruqqaat-wa-Qataat Shikastah, by Shankar Nath, 1254-H.
461. Makhzan-i-Asrar, by Nizami Ganjwi, 918-H.
462. Yusuf-o-Zulaikha, by Jami, 1087-H.
463. Mahashev Puran (Persian), 1098-H.
464. Hadiqa-i-Hakim Sanai, 535-H.

From the Museum Darul Falah, Delhi—*contd.*

465. Diwan-i-Saib, 1067-H.
 466. Anisut Talibin, 947-H.
 467. Tarikh-i-Panjab.
 468. Sharah Nal-Daman, by Faizi, 1271-H.
 469. Diwan-i-Majzoob, 1163-H.
 470. Political correspondence of Ranjit Singh.
 471. Sirr-i-Akbar—Translation of the Four Vedas, 1067-H.
 472. Ramayan Manzum.
 473. Qissa Hir Ranjha, 1145-H.
 474. History of the Timurids.
 475. Mahabharat (Persian).
 476. Matlaul Ulum.
 477. Akaus Askanda, Rajavli.
 478. Diwan Amir Khusrus (Be Nuqat).
 479. Tuhfa-i-Nadri, by Sakat Singh, 1149-H.
 480. Tarikh-i-Kashmir.
 481. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.
 482. Tarikh-i-Jahangiri.
 483. Ramayan & Gita (Persian).
 484. Dua-i-Hisn-Hasin (in a wooden box lined with velvet), 1175-H.
 485. Diwan-i-Shah.
 486. A set of 8 pamphlets by Shah Abdul Qadir Gilani.
 487. Bayaz-i-Kamgar.
 488. Sahifaa-i-Kamilah (in a wooden box).
 489. Nawadirat-i-Muqaddasah (in a wooden box).
 490. Samarat-i-Quds, by Lal Beg, 1006-H.
 491. Diwan-i-Kalim, Waqa-i-Nimat Khan Ali, etc.

Paintings.

492. Mul Raj.
 493. Khalifa Sahib Nurul Huda.
 494. Nawab Zabita Khan Bhatti (coloured).
 495. Nawab Dalil Khan Bahadur of Bahawalpur.

From the Museum Darul Falah, Delhi—concl.
***Paintings*—concl.**

496. Mr. Fraser, Resident of Delhi in Akbar II's reign.
497. Shahjahan (pencil sketch).
498. Banne Singh of Alwar (coloured, pencil sketch).
499. Begum Samroo (pencil sketch).
500. Depiction of the Ragini Kidara-Jai-Jaiyanti.
501. Tana Shah of Deecan (pencil sketch).
502. Bahadur Shah, the last Mughal Emperor (pencil sketch).
503. Rani Rup Nigar.
504. Nawab Dundi Khan of Dujana.
505. Shah Alam II.
506. Sher Singh in his zenana.
507. Nawab Zabita Khan (pencil sketch).
508. A scene from Persian Masnawi with corresponding poetic lines.
509. Raja Ranjit Singh of Lahore (coloured, pencil sketch).

From the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi.

510. Sharah Qasida Banat Suad, by Abdullah Ibne Hisham. Transcribed by Abdur Rahman Mohd. Khateeb, Cairo (763-H.).
511. Akhcamul-Adwital-Qalbia, by Bu Ali Sina, Transcribed by Ali Mohd. (655-H.).
512. Kitabul Qamus (Dictionary) by Majduddin Firozabadi. (Bearing seals of Kings and Vizirs of Yaman).
513. Muntakhab Sharah Kitab Khulasatul Hisab. Transcribed 1092-H.
514. Jam-i-Jahan Numa, by Mohd. Qudratullah Siddiqi Sanbhali. Transcribed 1191-H.

From Revd. Father H. Heras, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

515. Sumerian and Babylonian seals.
516. Iranian seals.

From Lt.-Col. H. Bullock, Rawalpindi.

517. Letter from Warren Hastings to his brother-in-law John Woodman, dated August 23, 1803.
518. Letter from Mrs. Marian Hastings, second wife of Warren Hastings, Calcutta, January 26, 1780.

From S. S. Ch. Labh Singh of Kahuta (Rawalpindi).

519. 11 Coins.

From Dr. Hifzur Rahman, Lahore.

- 520. Tibb-i-Akbar.
- 521. Altarkhib-wal-Tarhib.
- 522. Aoir-ul-Hayat.
- 523. The Holy Quran in Bihari characters.
- 524. The Holy Quran by Sultan Abu Said Mirza.
- 525. Biazi-Ambarin.
- 526. Biazi-Shurai-Farsi.
- 527. Biazi-Marasi.
- 528. Diwan-i-Hafiz and Rubayat-i-Umar Khayyam by Mohd. Qawanu-ud-Din Shirazi.
- 529. Sadhant Komdi, written on palm-leaves.
- 530. Hazar Masail.
- 531. Tarikh-i-Alam.
- 532. Ahya-ul-Alum, Vols. I, II & III.
- 533. Rissalah-i-Masail in Pushto.
- 534. Makhzinul-Islam in Punjabi.
- 535. The Bahawalpur annual report for 1890-1891.
- 536. An old Sanskrit manuscript.
- 537. A bust of Rameses II.
- 538. 65 silver coins.
- 539. 109 copper coins.
- 540. A portrait of Shah Sharafuddin Bu Ali Qalandar.
- 541. Paran Sangli.
- 542. Mahitul-Qamus.
- 543. Sapistasara.
- 544. Yog Vashisht in Punjabi.
- 545. Bukhtyu Namal in Gujarati.
- 546. Muiz Namah by Nawab Ali Mardan Khan of Lucknow.
- 547. Yajurveda.
- 548. Tuhfa-i-Asnai-Ashri.
- 549. Mahurat Chintamani Teeka.

From Dr. Hifzur Rahman, Lahore—concl.

- 550. Kishna Lila.
- 551. Atam Puran.
- 552. Shrimad Bhagwat Puran in Punjabi.
- 553. Parthish Shor Puja Vidhan.
- 554. Madaraj-ul-Nabuwroat, Vol. I.
- 555. Tuhfat-al-Mulak.
- 556. A Shia Tafsir of the 5th century A.H.
- 557. Brahmana of Atharva-veda.
- 558. Das Garanthi.
- 559. Dharam Kand.
- 560. A Gazette of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

From Mr. Hadi Hussain, Lahore.

- 561. 18 coins.

From S. Amolak Singh, Lahore.

- 562. A Roll of the names of Sikh Regiments.

From Principal Mohammad Shafi, Lahore.

- 563. Tafsir-i-Hussaini.
- 564. Karimdad by Mulla Darwiza.
- 565. Majalis-un Nafais.
- 566. Nur-ul-Absar-i-Turki.
- 567. A collection of manuscripts.
- 568. Kitabul-Musafarah by Ibn-ul-Humam.

From Khan Bahadur A. R. Chughtai, Lahore.*Paintings.*

- 569. Amir Dost Mohammad Khan.
- 570. Hazrat Roshan Shah.
- 571. 3 specimens of Persian Khuttis.
- 572. An unknown painting.

From Sada Jawani Pharmacy, Lahore.

- 573. The Mahabharata in Persian.

From Mr. Ganda Singh, Khalsa College, Amritsar.

(Personal collection.)

574. Photozincographical copy of the Janam Sakhi of Guru Nanak from the original in the India Office, London ; Dehra Dun, 1885.
575. Muhit-i-Azam, 1st Volume. An account of the Sikh Gurus from the time of Guru Nanak to that of Guru Ram Das—Urdu poetry manuscripts.
576. Gur Pranai—Genealogical account of the Sikh Gurus by Kavi Gulab Singh, 1908 B.K. (1851 A.D.).
577. Sukha Singh—Gur Bilas Daswin Padshahi—Gurumukhi manuscripts. Life history of Guru Govind Singh.
578. Hukm Namah (Photograph) or letter of Guru Govind Singh, dated 1st Kartik, 1764 B.K. (October 1707 A.D.) addressed to the Sikhs of Dhaul from Agra, or its neighbourhood, informing them of his visit to Emperor Bahadur Shah and hoping that he would soon return to the Punjab.
579. Panth Parkash by Gyani Gyan Singh—Manuscript copy written for publication by Hafiz Kutab-Din, Book-seller, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.
580. Hukm Namah or Letter issued by Banda Singh on Poh 12, Sambat 1767 (October 1710 A.D.) after his escape from the fort of Lohgarh, asking the Khalsa to immediately collect under his banner.
581. Proclamation dated Rab-ul-Awal, 1126 A.H. (1714 A.D.) issued by the residents of Kiri Pathanan, Basdi Umar Ghazi, in the Pargana of Kahnuwan regarding the raid of Sikhs under Jagat Singh on that village.
582. Ajival-i-Adina Beg Khan—Being an account of this faujdar of the Doaba Bist Jullundur and the territories around Dina Nagar in the District of Gurdaspur from the time of Abdul Samad Diler-i-Jang to 1758, bearing on his struggles, and of Raja Gurdit Mall and Diwan L. Bishamber Das, with the Sikhs during that eventful period in the 18th century.
583. Nur Mohammad, Qazi, of Gunjaba.—Jang Namah—A detailed account of the seventh invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1764 when he was forced by the Sikhs to hastily retreat to his country.
584. Daya Ram, Pundit—*Shir-o-Shakar*, Persian—Memoirs of the author, bearing on the affairs of DeBoigne, Perron, George Thomas and the Mahrattas and also of Bhai Lall Singh of Kythal; with accounts of Metcalfe—Ranjit Singh negotiations and the latter's expedition to Kashmir, Bhimbar, etc.

From Mr. Ganda Singh, Khalsa College, Amritsar,—contd.

(Personal collection)—*contd.*

- 585. Photograph of the Treaty between the East India Company and Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore, 1809.
- 586. Akhbar Ludhiana—Persian newspaper, edited and published at Ludhiana under the direction of the British Political Agency.
- 587. Proclamation of Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India, dated August 19, 1839.
- 588. Muhammad Naqi Peshawari—Sher Singh Nama, also called Halat-i-Punjab.—History of the events which took place at Lahore from the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to the assassination of Maharaja Sher Singh and accession of Maharaja Dalip Singh, covering the years 1839-43 A.D.
- 589. Shah Muhammad. Qissa Shah Muhammad.
- 590. One long sheet—being in possession of S. Gurbaksh Singh Jhabbalia —Shamsher. An account of the first Anglo-Sikh War.
- 591. A letter from Prince Sadhev Singh, son of Maharaja Sher Singh, dated November 28, 1846. to Col. Henry Lawrence.
- 592. Roznamcha-i-Sarkar Khalsa or Diary of the Lahore Darbar for the year 1847 A.D.
- 593. Hisab-i-Afwaj-i-Sarkar Khalsa dar Peshawar account book, a *bahi* of the army of Lahore Darbar post at Peshawar under the superintendence of the Assistant Resident, George Lawrence, for the year 1905 B.K. (1848 A.D.).
- 594. A letter from Maimdot, dated July 9, 1848, offering services to the East India Company for the expedition to be sent against Diwan Mulraj, Governor of Multan.
- 595. Akhbar Darbar Lahore—News from Lahore from 25th September 1848 to 25th January 1849.
- 596. Murslad Mausuma, Henry Lawrence, Resident, Lahore.
- 597. John Lawrence, Commissioner, Jullundur, and Officiating Resident, Lahore.
- 598. Major George McGregor, Personal Assistant to the Resident.
- 599. Maulvi Rajjab Ali, Munshi of the Residency.
- 600. Rai Kishan Chand, Vakil.
- 601. Robkars of the Punjab for the year 1852-53.
- 602. Tarikh-i-Punjab from the time of Baba Nanak to the dissolution of the Sikh Empire.

From Mr. Ganda Singh, Khalsa College, Amritsar—*contd.*(Personal collection)—*contd.*

603. Ganesh Das, Badehra.—Risalah-i-Sahib Numa, Twarikh-i-Punjab, also called Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab, 1912 B.K. 1855 B.K. author's own copy. History of the Punjab from the earliest time to 1847.
604. Ishtihar issued by the Government for the information of the people during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58.
605. An autobiography of and correspondence addressed to Munshi Rajab Ali, Mir munshi of Jagraon 1258 A.H.
606. Sher Mohammad Khan Tiwana, Malak Kaifujat-o-Karnamjat. Sar-guzasht-i-Bazurgan. Sahib-i-Rujat-i-Tiwana, 1864.—History of the Tiwana family up to the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58.
607. Sant Singh, Munshi.—An account of Baba Khem Singh Bedi, 1865 A.D.
608. Kaifiyat Baba Khem Singh wa Baba Sapuran Singh.
609. Bayan-i Khan ñan-i-Bedian az Guru Nanak ta Baba Sujan Singh Bedi family from the time of Guru Nanak to that of Baba Sujan Singh.
610. Sher Muhammad Khan—Insab-i-Rausa-i-Dera Ismail Khan.
611. Sita Ram, Pandit, Khulasa Ahwal-i-Khandan-i-Raja-ha-i-Kisht-war. A History of the Rajas of Kishtwar.
612. Tazkirah-i-Khandan-i-Maharaja Karam Singh Mahendra Bahadur wa digar Rajgan-i-Phulkian.—History of the family of Maharaja Karam Singh of Patiala and other Phulkian Rajas.
613. Account of the Bhai Ke family of Kaithal as dictated by Malalk Sher Khan, N.D.
614. A letter from Bhai Jasmer Singh, dated November 4, 1872, asking for certain papers regarding the Kaithal suit.
615. The Viceroy at Darbar Sahib.—Or particulars relating to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Ripon's visit to the Golden Temple at Amritsar, November 13, 1884, with a group photograph.
616. Dastur-ul-Amal—Sri Sarbar Sahib, Amritsar, dated September 12, 1859.
617. Photograph of an autograph of Princess Bamba, daughter of Maha-raja Duleep Singh.
618. Bibliography of Sikh history by Ganda Singh, Mr.
619. Nanakana Sahib Gurdwara—from outside.
620. Nanakana Sahib Gurdwara—the inside.

From Mr. Ganda Singh, Khalsa College, Amritsar—concl.

(Personal collection)—concl.

621. Maharaja Hira Singh Sahib of Nabha.
622. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa.
623. Triumphal reception of Sikh guns after the battle of Sobraon, with a key.
624. Maharaja Duleep Singh Bahadur, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

From S. Maharaj Chand, Amritsar.

625. A portrait of Raja Rallia Ram.
626. A portrait of Raja Dina Nath and Raja Tej Singh.
627. Shahnamah.
628. A collection of thirty-one documents and sanads, 1835—1855.
629. A Chapras badge of 1849.

From Rai Bahadur S. Jwala Sahai Misra, Amritsar.

630. A collection of letters issued by the Lahore Darbar to Raja Rallia Ram.
631. A Parwanah, dated 1837.
632. A portrait of S. B. S. Lachmi Sahai.

From Mr. Bashir Ahmad Khan Bukhtyar, Amritsar.

633. 5 land-deeds and parwanas dated 1073 A.H.

From L. Gokal Chand, Amritsar.

634. Maharaja Sher Singh in Durbar.

From Meer Fazal-us-Samad, Amritsar.

635. A sword bearing gold inscription on the blade as well as on its cover. The sword was made by the famous sword maker of Ispahan named Noor Ali in the year 197 A.H. (772 A.D.) at the command of Khalifa Harun-al-Rashid, the fifth of the Abbasides, who was on the throne of Persia at that time.

From Dr. A. M. Daula, M.A., Ph.D., Ludhiana.

636. A volume containing several Persian tales.
637. Daruds and Ta'awizes.
638. Hikayat-i-Zahuri, etc.
639. Abdul Qadir's Kitab-ul-Hikmat.
640. A collection of the Emperor Akbar's Firmans, etc.
641. Insha-i-Bakhshi Ram.
642. Land-deeds dated Vikrami 1854.
643. 68 silver and copper coins.
644. 8 Pattan arrows used at the battle of Jamrud.

From Raja Bashir Ahmad Khan, Gujarat.

645. A farman of Aurangzeb, dated Sha'aban 11, 1110 A. H.
 646. A farman of Alamgir II, dated Zulhaj 14, 1164 A. H.

From Pirji Abdul Rashid Sahib, Panipat.

647. Kulliat-i-Saadi, bearing seals of Shahjahan and subsequent Moghul Emperors.
 648. A dagger belonging to Shams-ud-Daulah Nawab Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, tutor of Prince Muazzam, Governor of Bihar.

From Pirji Baqaullah Sahib, Panipat.

649. Summons from Court issued to witness. Bearing seals of Muhammad Shah, 1133H.=1721 A.D.
 650. Sanad granting land to the exhibitor's ancestor. Bearing seal of dars and Government Thikadars to see that no mutiny sepoys
 651. Sanad granting land to the exhibitor's ancestor. Bearing seal of Emperor Aurangzeb. 1073 H.=1663 A.D.
 652. Sanad granted to the exhibitor's ancestor. Bearing seal of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah I, 3 Julus.=1709 A.D.
 653. Sanad granted to the exhibitor's ancestor. Bearing seal of Alamgir II (1171-H.=1757 A.D.)

From Sayid Abul Qasim Sahib, Panipat.

654. Farman granting an allowance to the exhibitor's ancestor. Bearing seal of Shah Alam II, 1173 H.=1759 A.D.
 655. Farman granting the village of Shahdapur to the exhibitor's ancestor. Bearing seal of Shah Alam II, 1179 H.=1765 A.D.
 656. Farman granting land to the exhibitor's ancestor. Syed Abdul Rahim. Bearing seal of Emperor Aurangzeb. 1081 H.=1670 A.D.

From Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., Monghyr.

657. Copy of circular No. 4043, dated 21st April 1858, issued by the Acting Magistrate of the District of Shahabad asking Zamindars, Talukedars and Government Thikadars to see that no mutiny sepoys were concealed or given refuge.
 658. Madad—Maash—grant of land by Nawab Syed Abdur Rahim Khan and others to Musst. Abda and another dated 11th Ramzan A.H. 1136.
 659. Madad—Maash, dated A.H. 1149, Grantor—Korban Beg, Grantee—Ahsanulla.

From Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., Monghyr—concl.

- 660. Sale of land, dated 1113, Fasli.
- 661. Sale of land, dated 1104, Fasli.
- 662. Sale of land, dated 1061, Amlı.
- 663. Objection to an auction sale, 1857.
- 664. A document of 1810, regarding registration of names in the book of the Zamindar.
- 665. A document dated A.H. 1079.
- 666. An income-tax notice of 14th March 1861.

From Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sahib, Delhi.

- 667. Bostan of Saadi. Bears autograph of Emperor Aurangzeb over his seal on the frontispiece.
- 668. Fatawa-i-Alamgiri.
- 669. History of Sorath (Marwar). Transcribed 1892 Sambat (1837 A.D.).
- 670. Shahnamah of Firdausi. Transcribed 855 A.H.=1451 A.D.
- 671. Ajabat-i-Makhluqat. A book on Botany, Zoology and Physiology, etc., with coloured illustrations. Transcribed 1122 A.H.=1710 A.D.
- 672. Khazana-i-Akbari. A short history of Akbar's time. Transcribed 980 A.H.=1572 A.D.
- 673. Bostan-i-Khayal.

From Pirji Abdul Razzaq Sahib, Dujana House, Delhi.

- 674-685. Twelve illustrations of Umar Khayyam's Rubai.
- 686. Jahangir paintings as Prince Salim.
- 687. Jalalud-Din Akbar.
- 688. Mulla Nurullah Shustri (of Jahangir's reign).
- 689. Muhammad Hakim Mirza, uncle of Emperor Akbar.
- 690. Saadullah Khan, Vazir of Muhammad Shah.
- 691. Prince Hindal, Governor of Tijara.
- 692. Tipu Sultan on horse-back a few moments before his martyrdom.
- 693. Emperor Jahangir.
- 694. Amir Timur's Durbar. A captured spy being presented to him
- 695. Portrait of Alam Ali Khan, son of Adham Khan.
- 696. Zebun-Nisa Begam, daughter of Emperor Aurangzeb surrounded by her attendants and maid servants.

From Pirji Abdul Razzaq Sahib, Dujana House, Delhi—concl.

697. Shah Tahmasp Safavi.
698. Mirza Muhammad Mansabdar, a noble of Emperor Akbar's Court.
699. Mr. Fraser, Resident of Delhi during the reign of Akbar Shah II (1806-37).
700. Hatim Tai, the legendary philanthropist of Arabia.
701. Mahbub Ali, Khwajasara of Shah Jahan's harem.
702. Jahangir, the Mughal Emperor, seated on an elephant shoots a tiger.
703. Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, with his uncle on the right and brother on the left.

Calligraphy.

704. A fine specimen of calligraphy by Abdullah Shirin Raqam, Jahangir's *farman* writer.
705. A fine specimen of calligraphy by Abdur Rahman Ambarin Qalam, Jahangir's *farman* writer.
706. A fine specimen of calligraphy by Aga Abdul Rashid, tutor of Aurangzeb.
707. A fine specimen of calligraphy by Agha Sahib (later Mughal period).
708. A fine specimen of calligraphy by Aqa-Sani.
709. A fine specimen of calligraphy by Amirud-Din—Arabic style. (1293 A.H.—1876 A.D.).

From Mr. Muhammad Munavvar-ud-Din, Kuche Chelan, Delhi.

710. Masnavi Maulana Rum. 1091 H. (1680 A. D.).

From Munshi Ganesh Lal Khara, Delhi.*Sanads.*

711. Sanad granting 25 bighas of land in Pargana Jhalu to Shah Ibrahim Qadiri. Dated 48 Julus of Alamgir—1707 A. D.
712. Sanad confirming the grant of a jagir in Pargana Jhalu to Saiyid Jalal and others. 1079 A. H.-1669 A. D.

Calligraphy.

713. Qata—Nastaliq style.
714. Qata—Nastaliq style. By Abdul Rashid. (1036 H.)
715. Qata—Nastaliq style. By Qandhari.
716. Qata—Nastaliq style. By Mohd. Amir. (1266 H.)
717. Qata—Nastaliq style. By Mohd. Ibrahim.
718. Idi—Naskh style. By Shuja-ud-din.

From Munshi Ganesh Lal Khara, Delhi—contd.*Calligraphy—contd.*

719. Idi—Nastaliq style.
 720. Rubai—Naskh style.
 721. Ayat from Quran. Naskh style.
 722. Ayat from Quran. Naskh style.
 723. Prayer. Naskh style. (1160-H.)
 724. Ayats from Quran. Naskh style.
 725. Specimen—Shikasta style.
 726. Specimen—Shikasta style.
 727. Specimen—Shikasta style.
 728. Specimen—Shikasta style.
 729. Specimen—Shikasta style.
 730. Specimen—Shikasta style.
 731. 'Taj' of Agra, before the Sepoy Mutiny.
 732. Salimgarh of Delhi (river side) before the Sepoy Mutiny.
 733. Qudsia garden buildings before the Sepoy Mutiny.
 734. Diwan-i-Am (Delhi Fort) before the Sepoy Mutiny.
 735. Qutab Minar (small) before the Sepoy Mutiny.
 736. Qutab Minar (large) before the Sepoy Mutiny.
 737. Prithwi Raj.
 738. Sultan Razia.
 739. Mughal Emperors. Jahandar Shah and Alamgir (double sided).
 740. Jalaluddin Akbar.
 741. Kunwar Sen, Vazir of Akbar II.
 742. Bairam Khan.
 743. Adam Khan.
 744. Jahangir.
 745. Jodhabai.
 746. Jahangir's boat.
 747. Hunting Scene—Nurjahan and Jahangir.
 748. Shahjahan.
 749. Dara Shikoh.
 750. Zeb-un-nisa Begum, daughter of Aurangzeb.
 751. Alamgir II.
 752. Ahmad Shah.
 753. Zinat Mahal, wife of Bahadur Shah.
 754. Tipu Sultan.
 755. Maharaj Yudhisthir.

From Munshi Ganesh Lal Khara, Delhi—concl.

Calligraphy—concl.

- 756. Encounter with an elephant.
- 757. A scene from Shahnama.
- 758. Akbar II.
- 759. Momin Khan, the Urdu poet.
- 760. Majlis-i-Shabi-Barat in Mughal Harem.
- 761. Procession of Akbar II (coloured, 9' 5").

From Mr. H. R. Mohsini, M.A., Imperial Record Department, New Delhi.

- 762. Al-Quran, with an interlinear Persian translation. It was granted to the exhibitor's ancestor Qazi Fahimuddin (of Shah-Haroonpur) by Bahadur Shah I (1707—1712 A. D.) as a customary token on the occasion of his appointment to the post of Qaziul-Quzat.
- 763. Sharah-ui-Quran Muini, by Muinuddin-bin-Afzalul Ulama Khwaja Mir Saiyid Sharif. Written during the six months of the author's pilgrimage to Mecca. (1072 H. = 1662 A.D.)
- 764. Ashiatul Lamaat Sharah Mishkat, by Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi (Persian), Vol. I.
- 765. Ditto., Vol. II.

From Mr. Ikramullah Khan, Lathwali Haveli, Delhi.

- 766. A scene depicting the meeting of two saints of Tughlak period-- Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya and Bu Ali Shah Qalandar.
- 767. Emperor Akbar with his Nauratan.

